A Modest Enquiry Into the Nature of Witchcraft, AND How Persons Guilty of that Crime may be *Convicted*: And the means used for their Discovery Discussed, both *Negatively* and *Affirmatively*, according to *SCRIPT RE* and EXPERIENCE.

By *John Hale*, Pastor of the Church of Christ in *Beverley, Anno Domini*. 1697.

When they say unto you, seek unto them that have Familiar Spirits and unto Wizzards, that peep, *&c.* To the Law and to the Testimony; if they speak not according to this word, it is because there is no light in them,
Isaiah VIII. 19, 20.

That which I ••e not teach thou me,
Job 34 32.

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ANy general Custom against the Law of God is void. St. *Germans* Abridg|ment of Common Law. *Lib. 1. C. 6.*

Omnium legum est inanis censura nisi Divinae legis imaginem gerat. *Finch* of Common Law. *Lib. 4. C. 3.*

Where a Law is grounded upon a Pre|sumption, if the Presumption fail the Law is not to be holden in Conscience. Abridgment of C. Law. *Lib. 1. C. 19.*

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An Epistle to the READER.

IT hath been said of Old, That Time is the Mother of Truth, and Truth is the Daughter of Time. It is the Prerogative of the God of Truth, to know all the truth in all things at once and together: *It is also his Glory to con|ceal a matter, Prov. 25.2.* And to bring the truth to light in that manner and measure, and the times appointed, as it pleaseth him; it is our duty in all humility, and with fear and trembling to search after truth, *knowing that secret things belong to God, and only things revealed belong to us,* and so far as they are revealed; for in many things it may be said, what God is doing we know not now; but we, or others that succeed us, shall know hereafter. Omitting other Examples, I shall Instance only in the matter of *Witchcraft,* which on the Humane side, is one of the most hidden Works of Darkness, managed by the Rulers of the darkness of this World, to the doing of great spoil amongst the Children of men: And on the Divine side, it is one of the most awful and tremendous Page 4Judgments of God which can be inflicted on the Societies

of men, especially when the Lord shall please for his own Holy Ends to Enlarge Satans Commission in more than an ordinary way.

It is known to all men, that it pleased God some few years ago, to suffer Satan to raise much trouble amongst us in that respect, the beginning of which was very small, and looked on at first as an ordi|nary case which had fallen out before at several times in other places, & would be quickly over. Only one or two persons belonging to *Salem Village* about five miles from the Town being suspected, were Examined, *&c.* But in the progress of the matter, a multitude of other persons both in that and other Neighbour Towns, were Accused, Exa|mined, Imprisoned, and came to their Trials, at *Salem,* the County Town, where about Twenty of them Suffered as *Witches;* and many others in danger of the same Tragical End: and still the number of the Accused increased unto many Scores; amongst whom were many Persons of unquestionable Credit, never under any grounds of suspicion of that or any other Scandalous Evil. This brought a gene|ral Consternation upon all sorts of People, doubting what would be the issue of such a dreadful Judg|ment of God upon the Country; but the Lord was pleased suddenly to put a stop to those proceedings, that there was no further trouble, as hath been re|lated by others. But it left in the minds of men a sad remembrance of that sorrowful time; and a Doubt whether some Innocent Persons might not Page 5Suffer, and some guilty Persons Escape. There is no doubt but the Judges and Juries proceeded in their Integrity, with a zeal of God against Sin, according to their best light, and according to Law and Evidence; but there is a Question yet un|resolved, Whether some of the Laws, Customs and Principles used by the Judges and Juries in the Trials of *Witches* in *England* (which were fol|lowed as Patterns here) were not insufficient and unsafe.

As for my Self, being under the Infirmities of a decrepit Old Age, I stirred little abroad, and was much disenabled (both in body and mind) from knowing and judging of Occurrents and Transacti|ons of that time: But my Reverend Brother Mr. *Hale,* having for above Thirty Years, been Pastor of the Church at *Beverly* (but Two Miles from *Salem,* where the Tryals were) was frequently pre|sent, and was a diligent Observer of all that passed, and being one of a Singular Prudence and Sagacity, in searching into the narrows of things: He hath (after much deliberation) in this Treatise, related the Substance of the Case as it was, and given Rea|sons from Scripture against some of the Principles & Practises then used in the Tryals of *Witchcraft;* and said something also in a Positive way, and shewing the right Application that is to be made of •he whole, and all this in such a pious and modest manner, as cannot be offensive to any, but may be generally acceptable to all the lovers of Truth and Peace.

Page 6I am the more willing to accompany him to the Press, because I am perswaded such a Treatise as this is needful & useful, upon divers accounts. *As,*

1. That the Works of God may be known; and that God may be more acknowledged and adored, in his Justice, and in his Mercy: in his Justice, by letting loose Evil Angels, to make so great a spoyl amongst us as they did, for the Punishment of a de|clining People:

And in his Mercy, by Countermandling of Satans Commission, and keeping of him in Chains of restraint, that he should proceed no further. *Psal. 83. last.*

2. That the Truth of things may be more fully known, so far as God shall please to reveal the same in the use of lawful means; for the Judgments of God are a great deep, and he is wont to make known truth by degrees; and Experience teacheth us, there is need of more to be said than hath been yet, for the clearing up of difficulties about the matter of *Witchcraft.* We ought to be fellow helpers to the truth. *3 Epistle of John 8. v.*

3 That whatever Errors or Mistakes we fell into, in the dark hour of Temptation that was upon us, may be (upon more light) so discovered, acknowledged and disowned by us, as that it may be matter of Warning & Caution to those that come after us, that they may not fall into the like. *1 Cor. 10.11. Faelix quem faciunt aliena pericula ca•tum.*

4. And that it may Occasion the most Learned and Pious men to make a further & fuller Enquiry Page 7into the matter of *Witchcraft,* especially into the positive part, How *Witches* may be so discovered, that innocent persons may be preserved, and none but the guilty may suffer. *Prov. 17.15.*

Verily whosoever shall by the Grace of God be enabled to Contribute further light in this matter, will do good Service to God and Men in his Generation.

I would also propound and leave it as an Object of Consideration to our Honoured Magistrates and Reverend Ministers, Whether the Aequity of that Law in *Leviticus, Chap. 4* for a Sin offering for the Rulers and for the Congregation, in the case of Sins of Ignorance, when they come to be known, be not Obliging, and for direction to us in a Gospel way.

Now the Father of Lights & Mercies grant unto us, that Mercy & Truth may meet together, that righteousness and peace may kiss each other, that the Glory of God may dwell in our Land; and that it may be said of *New England,* The Lord Bless thee, O Habitation of Justice & Mountain of Holiness.

Finally, That the Blessing of Heaven may go along with this little Treatise to attain the good Ends thereof, is, and shall be the Prayer of him who is daily waiting for his Change, and looking for the Mercy of the Lord Jesus Christ unto Eternal Life.

John Higginson, Pastor of the Church, of Salem. Aetatis *82.*
March 23d. 1697, 8.
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The Preface TO THE Christian READER.

THE Holy Scriptures inform us that the Doctrine of Godliness is a great Mystery, containing the Mysteries of the Kingdom of Heaven: Myste|ries which require great search for the finding out: And as the Lord hath his Mysteries to bring us to Eternal Glory; so Satan hath his Mysteries to bring us to Eternal Ruine: Mys|teries not easily understood, whereby the depths of Satan are managed in hidden wayes. So the Whore of *Babylon* makes the *Inhabitants of the Earth drunk with the Wine of her Fornication*, by the Mystery of her abominations, *Rev.* 17.2. And the man of Sin hath his Mystery of ini|quity whereby he deceiveth men through the working of Satan in signes and lying wonders, 2 *Thes.* 2 3, 7, 9.

And among Satans Mysteries of iniquity, this of *Witchcraft* is one of the most difficult to be searched out by the Sons of men; as appeareth Page 9by the great endeavours of Learned and Holy men to search it out, and the great differences that are found among them, in the rules laid down for the bringing to light these hidden works of darkness. So that it may seem pre|sumption in me to undertake so difficult a *Theam*, & to lay down such rules as are different from the Sentiments of many Eminent writers, and from the Presidents and practices of able Lawyers; yea and from the Common Law it self.

But my Apology for this undertaking is;

1. That there hath been such a dark dispen|sation by the Lord, letting loose upon us the Devil, *Anno.* 1691. & 1692. as we never ex|perienced before: And thereupon apprehend|ling and condemning persons for *Witchcraft*; and nextly acquitting others no less liable to such a charge; which evidently shew we were in the dark, and knew not what to do; but have gone too far on the one or other side, if not on both. Hereupon I esteemed it necessary for some person to Collect a Summa|ry of that affair, with some animadversions up|on it, which might at least give some light to them which come after, to shun those Rocks by which we were bruised, and narrowly es|caped Shipwrack upon. And I have waited five years for some other person to undertake it, who might doe it better than I can, but find none; and judge it better to do what I can, Page 10than that such a work should be left undone. Better sincerely though weakly done, then not at all, or with such a byas of prejudice as will put false glosses upon that which was managed with uprightness of heart, though there was not so great a spirit of discerning, as were to be wished in so weighty a Concernment.

2. I have been present at several Examinati|ons and Tryals, and knew sundry of those that Suffered upon that account in former years, and in this last affair, and so have more advantages than a stranger, to give account of these Proceedings.

3. I have been from my Youth trained up in the knowledge and belief of most of those principles I here question as unsafe to be used. The first person that suffered on this account in *New-England*, about Fifty years since, was my Neighbour, and I heard much of what was charged upon her, and others in those times; and the reverence I bore to aged, learned and judicious persons, caused me to drink in their principles in these

things, with a kind of Implicit Faith. *Quo semel est imbuta recens servabit odorem, Testa diu A Child will not easily forsake the principles he hath been trained up in from his Cradle.*

But observing the Events of that sad Ca|tastrophe, *Anno* 1692. I was brought to a more strict scanning of the principles I had imbibed, and by scanning, to question, and by questio|ning Page 11at length to reject many of them, upon the reasons shewed in the ensuing Discourse. It is an approved saying *Nihil certius, quam quod ex dubio fit certum*: No truth more certain to a man, than that which he hath formerly doubt|ed or denied, and is recovered from his error, by the convincing evidence of Scripture & rea|son. Yet I know and am sensible, that while we know but in part, man is apt in flying from a discovered error, to run into the con|trary extream.

Incidit in Scyllam qui vult vitare Charybaim.

The middle way is commonly the way of truth. And if any can shew me a better mid|dle way than I have here laid down, I shall be ready to embrace it: But the conviction must not be by vinegar or drollery, but by strength of argument.

4. I have had a deep sence of the sad con|sequence of mistakes in matters Capital; and their impossibility of recovering when com|pleated. And what grief of heart it brings to a tender conscience, to have been unwittingly encouraging of the Sufferings of the innocent. And I hope a zeal to prevent for the future such sufferings is pardonable, although there should be much weakness, and some errors in the pursuit thereof.

5. I observe the failings that have been on the one hand, have driven some into that which is indeed an extream on the other hand, Page 12and of dangerous consequence, *viz.* To deny any such persons to be under the *New Testament*, who by the Devils aid discover Secrets, or do work wonders. Therefore in the latter part of this discourse, I have taken pains to prove the Affirmative, yet with brevity, because it hath been done already by *Perkins* of *Witchcraft. Glanvil* his *Saduciscus Triumphatus*. P•. 1. *p.* 1. *to* 90. & Pt. 2. *p.* 1 *to* 80. Yet I would not be un|derstood to justify all his notions in those dis|courses, but acknowledge he hath strongly proved the being of *Witches*.

6. I have special reasons moving me to bear my testimony about these matters, *before I go hence & be no more*; the which I have here done, and I hope with some assistance of his Spirit to whom I commit my self & this my labour, e|ven that God *whose I am & whom I serve*: De|siring his Mercy in Jesus Christ to Pardon all the Er|rors of his People in the day of darkness; and to en|able us to fight with Satan by Spiritural Weapons, putting on the whole Armour of God.

And tho' Satan by his Messengers may buffet Gods Children, yet there's a promise upon right *Resisting, he shall flee from them*, Jam. 4.7. *And that all things shall work together for the good of those that Love the Lord, Rom.* 8.28. So that I believe Gods Children shall

be gainers by the assaults of Satan, which occasion'd this Discourse; which that they may, is the Prayer of, Thine in the Service of the Gospel.

*Beverly,*Decemb. 15th, 1697.

JOHN HALE

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A Modest Enquiry, Into the Nature of WITCHCRAFT.

CHAPTER I.

Sect. 1. THE Angels who kept not their First Estate, by Sin against God, lost their primitive purity, and glorious Excellency, as to their moral qualifications, and became unclean, wicked, envious, lyars, and full of all wicke• which as Spirits they are capable of ◊ I do not find in Scripture that they lost their natural abilities of under|standing or power of Operation.

1. As for their Understanding, they are called *Daimon* (which we Translate Devil) because they are full of wisdom, cunning, skill, subtilty and knowledge. He hath also the name of Serpent from his subtilty, 2 *Cor.* 11.3. And his knowledge in the Scriptures, Page 14and wittiness to pervert them, appears by hi• quoting Scripture •o our Saviour when he tempted him *Mat.* 4.

And as there be many Devils, and these ac•+ive, quick, swift and piercing Spirits, so the• going to and •o in the earth, and walking u• and down in it, have advantages to know a• the actions of the Children of men, both o+pen and secret, their discourses, consultations and much of the inward affections of men thereby; though still its Gods prerogative im+mediately to know the heart. *Jer.* 17.10.

2. As to their natural power as Spirits, it• very great, if not equal to that of the Holy Angels: For,

1. They are called *Principalities and Powers Rom.* 8.38. *Eph.* 6.12 *Col.* 2, 14, 15. compalred with *Heb.* 2 14, 15. Now these are name given to the Holy Angels *Eph.* 1.21. *and* 3.10.

2. They are called, *Rulers of the darkness of this world, the Prance of the •ower of the Air Eph.* 6 12 *and* 2.2.

3. Such was their power that they contendled with *Michael* and the Angels about the Bo|dy of *Moses*. 2 *Pet.* 2.11. *Jude* 9. That is, as I conceive, about preventing the Burial of the Body of *Moses*: For it's said, *Deut.* 34.6. The Lord buried him, and no man knoweth of his Sepulcher to this day. That is, he did it by the Ministry of Angels (for the Lord

gave Page 15the Law, *Exod.* 20.1. and that it was by the Ministry of Angels, see *Gal.* 3.19. so probably was the burial of *Moses*'s Body) and the Devils endeavour if possible, to discover *Moses's* Body, or place of its burial, that they might draw *Israel* to commit Idolatry in worshipping at his Tomb (as our Popish Fore-fathers did at *Thomas Beckets* in *Kent*) from the Veneration they had to him as their Law giver.

4. The Devils actings against *Job, Chap.* 1. and 2. and what he did to the *Gadarens* Swine, *&c.* Shew his great power. So that we may conclude, had the Devils liberty to reveal all that they know of the affairs of mankind, or to do all that is in their power to perform, they would bring dreadful confusions and desolations upon the World.

Sect. 2. The way God governs Devils is by Chains. 2 *Pet.* 2.4. *Jude* 6 *ver. Rev.* 20. 1, 2, 7, 8. whereby they are kept Prisoners. Men are governed by Laws, by convictions of Conscience. *Rom.* 2.12, 13, 14, 15. By Scripture Rules, Humane Laws, and also by Gods Spirit. 1 *John* 2.20. But Devils have no such Laws, or tenderness of Conscience to bridle or restrain them. But the Lord hath his Chains, which are called Everlasting, and are always lasting; so that they are never wholly without a Chain. This Chain is sometimes greater and shorter, other times lesser and Page 16longer, as the Lord pleaseth, for his own Glory, *Rev.* 20.1, 2, 7, 8 For as the *wrath of man praiseth the Lord, and the remainder of wrath he doth restrain, Psal.* 76.10. So may we say of the Devils wrath.

Sect. 3. The Devil is full of malice against man, and frames his designs against him, chiefly to destroy his Soul, as, 1 *Pet.* 5.8 2 *Cor.* 11.3 and other Scriptures abundantly testify. Hence probably at sometimes he doth not all the hurt to mans Body that he could, lest thereby he should awaken man to repentance and prayer; he seeks to keep men in a false peace. *Luk.* 11.21. Yet at other times he disturbs and afflicts men in Body and Estate; as Scripture and experience shew. Among the Devilces Satan useth to ruine man, one is to allure him into such a familiarity with him, that by Sorceries, Inchantments, Divinations, and such like, he may lead them Captive at his pleasure. This snare of his we are warned against. *Deut.* 18.10, 11. and in other Scriptures. This Sin of men hearkening after Satan in these ways, is called Witchcraft; of which it is my purpose to treat: But first I shall speak something Historically what hath been done in *New England*, in prosecution of persons suspected of this Crime.

Sect. 4. Several persons have been Charged Page 17with and suffered for the Crime of Witchcraft in the Governments of the *Massachusetts, New Haven*, or *Stratford* and *Connecticut*, from the year 1646. to the year 1692.

Sect. 5. The first was a Woman of *Charlestown, Anno*, 1647. or 48 She was suspected partly because that after some angry words passing between her & her Neighbours, some mischief befel such Neighbours in their Creatures, or the like: partly because some things supposed to be bewitched, or have a Charm upon them, being burned, she came to the fire and seemed concerned.

The day of her Execution, I went in compa|ny of some Neighbours, who took great pains to bring he• to confession & repentance. But she constantly professed her self innocent of that crime: Then one prayed her to consider if God did not bring this punishment upon her for some other crime, and asked, if she had not been guilty of Stealing many years ago; she answered, *she had stolen something, but it was long since, and she had repented of it, and there was Grace enough in Christ to pardon that long agoe; but as for Witchcraft she was wholly free from it*, and so she said unto her Death.

Sect. 6. Another that suffered on that ac|count some time after, was a *Dorchester* Wo|man. And upon the day of her Execution Page 18Mr. *Thompson* Minister at *Brantry*, and *J. P.* her former Master took pains with her to bring her to repentance And she utterly denyed her guilt of Witchcraft; yet justifyed God for bringing her to that punishment: for she had when a single woman play'd the harlot, and being with Child used means to destroy the fruit of her body to conceal her sin & shame, and although she did not effect it, yet she was a Murderer in the sight of God for her endeavours, and shewed great penitency for that sin; but owned no|thing of the crime laid to her charge.

Sect. 7. Another suffering in this kind was a Woman of *Cambridge*, against whom a prin|cipal evidence was a *Watertown* Nurse, who testifyed, that the said *Kendal* (so was the accu|sed called) did bewitch to Death a Child of Goodman *Genings* of *Watertown*; for the said *Kendal* did make much of the Child, and then the Child was well, but quickly changed its colour and dyed in a few hours after. The Court took this evidence among others, the said *Genings* not knowing of it. But after *Kendal* was Executed (who also denyed her guilt to the Death,) Mr. *Rich Brown* knowing & hopeling better things of *Kendal*, asked said *Genings* if they suspected her to bewitch their Child, they answered *No*. But they judged the true cause of the Childs Death to be thus, *viz.* The Nurse had the night before carryed out the Child and Page 19kept it abroad in the Cold a long time, when the red gum was come out upon it, & the Cold had struck in the red gum, and this they judg|ed the cause of the Childs death. And that said *Kendal* did come in that day and make much of the Child, but they apprehended no wrong to come to the Child by her. After this the said Nurse was put into Prison for A|dultery, and there delivered of her base Child, and Mr. •*rown* went to her and told her, *It was just with God to leave her to this wickedness as a punishment for her Murdering goody* Kendal *by her false witness bearing*. But the Nurse dyed in Prison, and so the matter was not farther inqui|red into.

There was another Executed, of *Boston Anno* 1656. for that crime. And two or three of *Springfield*, one of which confessed; and said the occasion of her familiarity with Satan was this: She had lost a Child and was exceedingly discontented at it, and longed; *Oh that she might see her Child again*! And at last the Devil in likeness of her Child came to her bed side and talked with her, and asked to come into the bed to ner, and she received it into the bed to her that night and several nights after, and so entred into covenant with Satan and became a Witch. This was the only confessor in these times in this Government.

Sect. 8. Another at *Hartford*, viz. *Mary* Page 20 *Johnson*, mentioned in Remarkable Providences, *p.* 62, 63 Confessed her self a Witch Who upon discontent & s•uthfulness agreed with the Devil to do her work for her, and fetch up the Swine. And upon her immoderate laughter at the running of the Swine, as the Devil drove them, as she her self said, was suspected & upon examination confessed. I have also heard of a Girl at *New Haven* or *Stratford*, that confessed her guilt. But all others denyed it unto the death unless one *Greensmith*, at *Hartford*.

Sect 9. But it is not my purpose to give a full relation of all that have suffered for that Sin, or of all the particulars charged upon them, which probably is now impossible, many wit|nessing *Viva voce*, those particulars which were not fully recorded. But that I chiefly intend is to shew the principles formerly acted upon in Convicting of that Crime; which were such as these.

1. The first great principle laid down by a person Eminent for Wisdom, Piety and Learn|ling was; That the Devil could not assume the shape of an innocent person in doing mischiefs unto mankind: for if the Lord should suffer him in this he would subvert the course of hu|mane Justice, by bringing men to suffer for what he did in their Shapes.

2. *Witchcraft* being an habitual Crime, one single witness to one Act of Witchcraft, and a|nother Page 21single witness to another such fact, made two witnesses against the Crime and the party suspected.

3. There was searching of the bodies of the suspected for such like tears, or spots (which writers speak of) called the Devils marks; and if found, these were accounted a presumption at least of guilt in those that had them.

4. I observed that people laid great weight upon this; when things supposed to be bewitch|led were burnt, and the suspected person came to the fire in the time of it. Although that E|minent person above said condemned this way of tryal, as going to the Devil to find the Devil.

5. If after anger between Neighbours mis|chief followed, this oft bred suspicion of Witch|craft in the matter. In fine, the presumptions and convictions used in former times were for substance the same which we may read of in *Keeble* of the Common Law, and in *Bernard*, & other Authors of that subject.

Sect. 10. About 16 or 17. years since was accused a Woman of *Newbury*, and upon her tryal the Jury brought her in Guilty. Yet the Governour *Simon Bradstreet* Esq and some of the Magistrates repreived her, being unsatisfy|led in the Verdict upon these grounds.

1. They were not satisfyed that a Specter doing mischief in her likeness, should be impu|ted to her person, as a ground of guilt.

Page 222. They did not esteem one single witness to one fact, and another single witness to ano|ther fact, for two witnesses, against the person in a matter Capital. She being reprived, was carried to her own home, and her Husband, (who was esteemed a Sincere and understand|ling Christian by those that knew him) desired some Neighbour Ministers, of whom I was one, to meet together and discourse his Wife; the which we did: and her discourse was very Christian among us, and still pleaded her inno|cence as to that which was laid to her charge. We did not esteem it prudence for us to pass any definitive Sentance upon one under her circumstances, yet we inclined to the more cha|ritable side.

In her last Sickness she was in much dark|ness & trouble of Spirit, which occasioned a Ju|dicious friend to examine her strictly, Whe|ther she had been guilty of *Witchcraft*, but she said *No*: But the ground of her trouble was some impatient & passionate Speeches and Act|ions of hers while in Prison, upon the account of her suffering wrongfully; whereby she had provoked the Lord, by putting some contempt upon his word. And in fine, she sought her pardon and comfort from God in Christ, and dyed so far as I understood, praying to and resting upon God in Christ for Salvation.

Sect. 11. The next that Suffered was an *I|rish* Page 23 *Woman* of *Boston*, suspected to bewitch *John Goodwins* Children, who upon her Tryal did in *Irish* (as was testified by the Interpreters) confess her self guilty, and was condemned out of her own mouth; (as Christ saith, *Luk.* 19.22. *Out of thine own mouth will I Judge thee*.) The History of which is published by Mr. *Cotton Mather*, (and attested by the other Mi|nisters of *Boston* & *Charlstown*,) in his Book, En|tituled, *Memorable Providences*, Printed *Anno* 1689. Thus far of the History of Witches before the year, 1692.

CHAPTER II.

I. IN the latter end of the year 1691. Mr. *Samuel Paris*, Pastor of the Church in *Salem-Village*, had a Daughter of Nine, and a Neice of about Eleven years of Age, sadly Af|flicted of they knew not what Distempers; and he made his application to Physitians, yet still they grew worse: And at length one Physiti|an gave his opinion, that they were under an Evil Hand. This the Neighbours quickly took up, and concluded they were bewitched. He had also an Indian Man servant, and his Wife who afterwards confessed, that without the knowledge of their Master or Mistress, they had taken some of the Afflicted persons Urine, and mixing it with meal had made a Cake, & baked it, to find out the Witch, as they said. Page 24After this, the Afflicted persons cryed out of the Indian Woman, named *Tituba*, that she did pinch, prick, and grievously torment them, and that they saw her here and there, where no body else could. Yea they could tell where she was, and what she did, when out of their humane sight. These Children were biuen and pinched by invisible agents; their arms, necks, and backs turned this way and that way, and returned back again, so as it was impossible for them to do of themselves, and beyond the power of any Epileptick Fits, or natural Disease to effect. Sometimes they were taken dumb, their mouths stopped, their throats choaked, their limbs wracked and, tormented so as might move an heart of stone, to sympa|thize with them, with

bowels of compassion for them. I will not enlarge in the descripti|on of their cruel Sufferings, because they were in all things afflicted as bad as *John Good|wins* Children at *Boston*, in the year 1689. So that he that will read Mr. *Mathers* Book of *Memorable Providences, page* 3. *&c.* may Read part of what these Children, and afterwards sundry grown persons suffered by the hand of Satan, at *Salem* Village, and parts adjacent, *Anno* 1691, 2. Yet there was more in these Sufferings, than in those at *Boston*, by pins in|visibly st•ck into their flesh, pricking with I|•ons. (As in part published in a Book Printed 1693. *viz. The Wonders of the Invisible World*.) Page 25Mr. *Paris* seeing the distressed condition of his Family, desired the presence of some Wor|thy Gentlemen of *Salem*, and some Neighbour Ministers to consult together at his House; who when they came, and had enquired dili|gently into the Sufferings of the Afflicted, con|cluded they were preternatural, and feared the hand of Satan was in them.

II. The advice given to Mr. *Paris* by them was, that he should sit still and wait upon the Providence of God to see what time might discover; and to be much in prayer for the discovery of what was yet secret. They also Examined *Tituba*, who confessed the making a Cake, as is above mentioned, and said her Mistress in her own Country was a Witch, and had taught her some means to be used for the discovery of a Witch and for the pre|vention of being bewitched, *&c.* But said that she her self was not a Witch.

III. Soon after this, there were two or three private Fasts at the Ministers House, one of which was kept by sundry Neighbour Mini|sters, and after this, another in Publick at the *Village*, and several days afterwards of publick Humiliation, during these molestations, not only there, but in other Congregations for them. And one General Fast by Order of the General Court, observed throughout the Page 26Colony to seek the Lord that he would rebuke Satan, and be a light unto his people in this day of darkness.

But I return to the History of these trou|bles. In a short time after other persons who were of age to be witnesses, were molested by Satan, and in their •its cryed out upon *Tituba* and Goody O. & S. G. that they or Specters in their Shapes did grievously torment them; hereupon some of their Village Neighbours complained to the Magistrates at *Salem*, desiring they would come and examine the afflicted & accused together; the which they did: the effect of which examination was, that *Tituba* confessed she was a Witch, and that she with the two others accused did torment & bewitch the complainers, and that these with two others whose names she knew not, had their Witch|meeting together; relating the times when & places where they met, with many other cir|cumstances to be seen at large. Upon this the said *Tituba* and O. & *S. G.* were committed to Prison upon suspicion of acting Witchcraft. After this the said *Tituba* was again examined in Prison, and owned her first confession in all points, and then was her self afflicted and com|plained of her fellow Witches tormenting of her, for her confession, and accusing them, and being searched by a Woman, she was found to have upon her body the marks of the Devils wounding of her.

Page 27IV. Here were these things rendred her confession credible. (1.) That at this exami|nation she answered every question just as she did at the first. And it was thought that if she had feigned her confession, she could not have remembred her answers so exactly. A lyar we say, had need of a good memory, but truth being always consistent with it self is the same to day as it was yesterday. (2.) She seemed very penitent for her Sin in covenanting with the Devil. (3.) She became a sufferer her self, & as she said for her confession. (4.) Her confession agreed exactly (which was after|wards verified in the other confessors) with the accusations of the afflicted. Soon after these afflicted persons complained of other per|sons afflicting of them in their fits, and the number of the afflicted and accused began to increase. And the success of *Tituba*'s confessi|on encouraged those in Authority to examine others that were suspected, and the event was, that more confessed themselves guilty of the Crimes they were suspected for. And thus was this matter driven on.

V. I observed in the prosecution of these affairs, that there was in the Justices, Judges & others concerned, a conscientious endeavour to do the thing that was right. And to that end they consulted the Presidents of former times & precepts laid down by Learned Writers about Page 28Witchcraft. As *Keeble* on the *Common Law, Chapt.* Conjuration, (an Author approved by the Twelve Judges of our Nat•on.) Also Sir, *Mathew Hales* tryal of Witches, Printed *Anno* 1682. *Glanvils* Collection of sundry tryals in *England* & *Ireland*, in the years 1658, 61, 63, 64, & 81. *Bernards* guide to Jurymen, *Baxter* & *R. Burton*, their Histories about Witches and their discoveries. *Cotton Mather*'s Memorable Providences relating to Witchcrafts, Printed *Anno* 1689.

VI. But that which chiefly carried on this matter to such an height, was the increasing of confessors till they amounted to near about Fifty: and four or six of them upon their try|als owned their guilt of this crime, and were condemned for the same, but not Executed. And many of the confessors confirmed their confessions with very strong circumstances: As their exact agreement with the accusations of the afflicted; their punctual agreement with their fellow confessors; their relating the times when they covenanted with Satan, and the rea|sons that moved them thereunto; their Witch meetings, and that they had their mock Sacra|ments of Baptism and the Supper, in some of them; their signing the Devils book: and some shewed the Scars of the wounds which they said were made to fetch blood with, to sign the Devils book; and some said they had Page 29Imps to suck them, and shewed Sores raw where they said they were sucked by them.

VII. I shall give the Reader a tast of these things in a few Instances. The Afflicted complained that the Spectres which vexed them, urged them to set their Hands to a Book represented to them (as to them it see|med) with threatnings of great torments, if they signed not, and promises of ease if they obeyed.

Among these *D. H.* did as she said (which sundry others confessed afterwards) being o|vercome by the extremity of her pains, sign the Book presented, and had the promised

ease; and immediately upon it a Spectre in her Shape afflicted another person, and said, I have sign|ed the Book and have ease, now do you sign, and so shall you have ease. And one day this afflicted person pointed at a certain place in the room, and said, there is *D. H.* upon which a man with his Rapier struck at the place, though he saw no Shape; and the Afflicted called out, saying, you have wounded her side, and soon after the afflicted person pointed at another place, saying, there she is; whereupon a man struck at the place, and the afflicted said, you have given her a small prick about the eye. Soon after this, the said *D. H.* con|fessed her self to be made a Witch by signing the Devils Book as above said; and declared Page 30that she had afflicted the Maid that complain|ed of her, and in doing of it had received two wounds by a Sword or Rapier, a small one about the eye, which she shewed to •he Magistrates, and a bigger on the side of which she was searched by a discreet woman, who reported, that *D. H* had on her side the sign of a wound newly healed.

This *D. H.* confessed that she was at a Witch Meeting at *Salem Village*, where were many persons that she named, some of whom were in Prison then or soon after upon suspicion of Witchcraft: And the said *G. B* preached to them, and such a Woman was their Deacon, and there they had a Sacrament.

VIII. Several others after this confessed the same things with *D. H.* In particular Goody *F* said (*Inter alia*) that she with two others (one of whom acknowledged the same) Rode from *Andover* to the same Village Witch meet|ing upon a stick above ground, and that in the way the stick brake, and gave the said *F.* a fall: whereupon, said she, I got a fall & hurt of which I am still sore. I happened to be pre|sent in Prison when this *F.* owned again her former confession to the Magistrates. And then I moved she might be further question|ed about some particulars: It was answered, the Magistrates had not time to stay longer; but I should have liberty to Exami• her far|ther Page 31by my self; The which thing I did; and I asked her if she rode to the Meeting on a Stick; she said, yea. I enquired what she did for Victuals; she answered, that she carried Bread and Cheese in her pocket, and that she and the *Andover* Company came to the Village before the Meeting began, and sat down toge|ther under a tree and eat their food, and that she drank water out of a Brook to quench her thirst. And that the Meeting was upon a plain grassy place, by which was a Cart path, and sandy ground in the path, in which were the tracks of Horses feet. And she also told me how long they were going and returning. And some time after told me, she had some trouble upon her spirit, and when I enquired what? she said, she was in fear that *G. B.* and *M. C.* would kill her; for they appeared unto her (in Spectre, for their persons were kept In other Rooms in the Prison) and brought a sharp pointed iron like a spindle, but four square, and threatned to stab her to death with it; because she had confessed her Witch|craft, and told of them, that they were with her, and that *M. C.* above named was the per|son that made her a Witch. About a month after the said *F.* took occasion to tell me the same Story of her fears that *G. B.* and *E. C.* would kill her, and that the thing was much upon her Spirits.

Page 32IX. It was not long before *M. L.* Daughter of said *F.* confessed that she rode with her Mother to the said Witch Meeting, and con|firmed the substance of her Mothers Confessi|on. At another time, *M. L.* junior the Grand Daughter, aged about seventeen years, con|fesseth the substance of what her Grand mo|ther and Mother had related, and declareth, that when they, with *E. C.* rode on a stick or pole in the Air, She the said Grand-Daughter with *R C.* Rode upon another; (and she said *R. C.* acknowledged the same) and that they sat their hands to the Devils Book. And (*in|ter alia*) said, *O Mother, why did you give me to the Devil*? twice or thrice over. The Mo|ther said, she was sorry at the heart for it, it was through that wicked one. Her Daughter bid her repent and c•ll upon God: And said, *Oh Mother, your wishes are now come to pass! for how often have you wished that the Devil would fetch me away alive*? And then said, *Oh! my heart will break within me*; Then she wept bitterly, crying out, *O Lord comfort me, and bring out all the Witches*. And she said to her Grandmother, *O Grandmother, why did you give me to the Devil? Why did you perswade me, O Grandmother do not deny it*. Then the Grandmother gave account of several things about their confederates and acts of Witchcrafts too long to rehearse.

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CHAPTER III.

NExtly I will insert the Confession of a man about Forty years of Age, *W. B.* which he wrote himself in Prison, and sent to the Magistrates, to confirm his former Con|fession to them, *viz God having called me to Confess my sin and Apostasy in that fall in giving the Devil advantage over me appearing to me like a Black, in the evening to set my hand to his Book, as I have owned to my shame He told me that I should not want so doing. At* Salem Village, *there be|ing a little off the Meeting House, about and hun|dred five Blades, some with Rapiers by their side, which was called and might be more for ought I know by* B. *and* Bu. *and the Trumpet sounded, and Bread and Wine which they called the Sacrament, but I had none; being carried over all on a Stick, never bring at any other Meeting. I being at Cart a* Saturday *last, all the day, of Hay and En|glish Corn, the Devil brought my Shape to* Salem, *and did afflict* M. S. *and* R. F. *by clitching my hand; and a Sabbath day my Shape afflicted* A. M. *and at night afflicted* M S. *and* A. M. *E. I. and* A. F. *have been my Enticers to this great abomination, as one have owned and charged her to her Sister with the same And the design was to destroy* Salem *Village, and to begin at the Ministers House, and to destroy the Church of God, and to set up Satans Kingdom, and then all will be well.* Page 34 *And now I hope God in some measure has made me something sensible of my sin and apostasy, beg|ging pardon of God, and of the Honourable Magi|strates, and all God people, hoping and promising by the help of God to set to my heart and hand to do what in me lyeth to destroy such wicked worship, humbly begging the prayers of all Gods People for me, I may walk humbly under this great affliction, and that I may procure to my self, the sure mercies of* David, *and the blessing of* Abraham. Concern|ling this Confession. (1) Note it was his own free act in Prison. (2) He saith the Devil like a Black] This he had before explained to be like a Black man (3) That on a certain day was heard in the Air the sound of a Trumpet, a

Salem Village •igh the Meeting-House, and upon all enquiry i• could not be found that a+ny mortal man did found it. (4) The three persons he saith the Devil in his Shape afflict|led, had been as to the times and manner af|flicted as he confess•th (5) That *E. I.* confes|s•d as much as *W. B.* chargeth her with. (6) Many others confessed a Witch Meeting, or Witch meetings at the Village as well as he.

Note also that these Confessors did not only witness against themselves, but against one a|nother; and against many if not all those that Suffered for that Crime. As for example, when *G. B.* was Tryed, seven or eight of these Confessors severally called, said, they knew the said *B.* and saw him at a Witch Meeting Page 35at the Village, and heard him exhort the Com|pany to pull down the Kingdom of God, and set up the Kingdom of the Devil. He denied all, yet said he justified the Judges and Jury in Condemning of him; because there were so many positive witnesses against him: But said he dyed by false Witnesses I seriously spake to one that witnessed (of his Exhorting at the Witch Meeting at the Village) saying to her; you are one that bring this man to Death, if you have charged any thing upon him that is not true, recal it before it be too late, while he is alive. She answered me, she had no|thing to charge her self with, upon that ac|count.

M. C. had to witness against her, two or three of her own Children, and several of her Neighbours that said they were in confe|deracy with her in their Witchcraft.

A. F. Had three of her Children, and some of the Neighbours, her own Sister, and a Ser|vant, who confessed themselves Witches, and said, she was in confederacy with them. But alas, I am weary with relating particulars; those that would see more of this kind, let them have recourse to the Records.

By these things you see how this matter was carried on, *viz.* chiefly by the complaints and accusations of the Afflicted. Bewitched ones as it was supposed, and then by the Con|fessions of the Accused, condemning them|selves, Page 36and others. Yet experience shewed, that the more there were apprehended, the more were still Afflicted by Satan, and the number of Confessors increasing, did but in|crease the number of the Accused, and the Executing some, made way for the apprehen|ding of others; for still the Afflicted com|plained of being tormented by new objects as the former were removed. So that those that were concerned, grew amazed at the numbers and quality of the persons accused and feared that Satan by his wiles had inwrap|ped innocent persons under the imputation o• that Crime. And at last it was evidently seen that there must be a stop put, or the Genera|tion of the Children of God would fall under that condemnation.

Henceforth therefore the Juries generally acquitted such as were Tried, fearing they had gone too far before. And Sir *William Phips*, Governour, Reprieved all that were Condemn|ed, even the Confessors, as well as others And the Confessors generally fell off from their Confessions; some saying, they remembred no|thing of what they said; others said they had belied themselves and others. Some brake Prison and ran away, and were

not strictly searched after, some acquitted, some dismissed, and one way or other all that had been accu|sed were set or left at liberty.

And although had the times been calm, the Page 37condition of the Confessors might have called for a *melius inquirendum*; yet considering the combustion and confusion this matter had brought us unto; it was thought safer to un|der do than over-do, especially in matters Ca|pital, where what is once compleated cannot be retrieved: but what is left at one time, may be corrected at another, upon a review and clearer discovery of the state of the Case. Thus this matter issued somewhat abruptly.

CHAPTER IV.

HEre was generally acknowledged to be an error (at least on the one hand) but the Querie is, Wherein?

A. 1. I have heard it said, That the Presi|dents in *England* were not so exactly followed, because in those there had been previous quar|rels and threatnings of the Afflicted by those that were Condemned for Witchcraft; but here, say they, not so. To which I answer.

1. In many of these cases there had been antecedent personal quarrels, and so occasions of revenge; for some of those Condemned, had been suspected by their Neighbours seve|ral years, because after quarrelling with their Neighbours, evils had befallen those Neigh|bours. As may be seen in the Printed Tryals of *S. M.* and *B. B.* and others: See *Wonders of the Invisible World, Page* 105. to 137. And Page 38there were other like Cases not Printed.

2. Several confessors acknowledged they en|gaged in the quarrels of other their confede|rates to afflict persons. As one *Timothy Swan* suffered great thin• by Witchcrafts, as he sup|posed and testifye• And several of the con|fessors said they did so torment him for the sake of one of their partners who had some offence offer'd her by the said *Swan* And others owned they did the like in the behalf of some of their confederates.

3 There were others that confessed their fellowship in these works of darkness, was to destroy the Church of God (as is above in part rehearsed) which is a greater piece of revenge, then to be avenged upon one particular person.

2. It may be queried then, *How doth it ap|pear that there was a going too far in this affair*?

A• 1. By the numbers of the persons accused which at length increased to about an *hundred*, and it cannot be imagined that in a place of so much knowledge, so many in so small a com|pass of Land should so abominably leap into the Devils lap at once.

2. The quality of several of the accused was such as did bespeak better things, *and things that accompany Salvation*. Persons whose blameless and holy lives before did testify for

them. Persons that had taken great pains to bring up their *Children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord*: Such as we had Charity for, as for our Page 39own Souls: and Charity is a Christian duty commended to us. 1 *Cor.* 13. *Chapt. Col.* 3.14. and in many other Scriptures.

3. The number of the afflicted by Satan dayly increased, till about Fifty persons were thus vexed by the Devil. This gave just ground to suspect some mistake, which gave advantage to the accuser of the Brethren to make a breach upon us.

4. It was considerable that Nineteen were Executed, and all denyed the Crime to the Death, and some of them were knowing per|sons, & had before this been accounted blame|less livers. And it is not to be imagined, but that if all had been guilty, some would have had so much tenderness as to seek Mercy for their Souls in the way of Confession & sorrow for such a Sin. And as •or the condemned con|fessors at the Bar, (they being reprieved) we had no experience whether they would stand to their Self-condemning confessions, when they came to dye.

5. When this prosecution ceased, the Lord so chained up Satan, that the afflicted grew pre|sently well. The accused are generally quiet, and for five years since, we have no such mo|lestations by them.

6. It sways much with me that I have since heard and read, of the like mistakes in o|ther places. As in *Suffolk* in *England* about the year 1645, was such a prosecution, until they Page 40saw that unless they put a stop it would bring all into blood and confusion. The like hath been in *France*, till 900 were put to Death. And in some other places the like; So that *N. England* is not the only place circumvented by the wiles of the wicked and wisely Serpent in this kind.

Wierus de Pr•stigiis Demonum, p. 678 Re+lates, *That an Inquisitor in the* Subalpine Valleys, *enquired after Women Witches, and consumed above an hundred in the Flames, and daily made new of|ferings to* Vulcan *of those that needed* Helebore *more than* Fire *Until the Country people rose and by force of •rms hindred him, and refer the matter to the Bishop. Their Husbands men of good Faith affirmed that in that very time they said of them, that they played and danced under a tree, they were in bed with them.*

R. Burton of Witches *&c.* p. 158. Saith, *That in* Chelmsford *in* Essex, *Anno* 1645 *were Thirty tryed at once before Judge* Coniers, *and Fourteen of them hanged, and an hundred more contained in several Prisons in* Suffolk *&* Essex.

If there were an Error in the proceedings in other places, and in *N. England*, it must be in the principles proceeded upon in prosecuting the suspected, or in the misapplication of the principles made use of. Now as to the case at *Salem*, I conceive it proceeded from some mis|taken principles made use of; for the evincing whereof, I shall instance some principles made Page 41use of here, and in other Countrys also, which I find defended by learned Authors writing up|on that Subject.

CHAPTER. V.

1. IT hath been believed that Satan cannot assume the Shape of an Innocent person, and in that Shape doe mischief to the bodies, or estates of mankind.

This *maxim* hath been as the *Primum mobile*, turning the wheel of accusation upon persons condemned for this Crime in *England* and else where, (so far ◊ my reading goeth.) See *Bax|ter* and *Glanvil*, and other Authors on this Sub|ject. For the inference drawn from hence was, That when a person suffers by Diabolical a|gents and is supposed to be bewitched, and in their sufferings see a Spectre in the exact image of any person, that person so represented must be accounted the Witch.

Keeble on the *Common Law*, gives this for a ground to suspect a person for a Witch. Their Apparition to the sick party in their fits *&c.*

In opposition to this *Maxim*, I shall lay down three Propositions.

1. Satan may and often hath represented to the Imaginations of persons under bodily afflictions by him, the shape or image of inno|cent persons hurting them.

2. Satan can represent himself to mankind in a bodily visible likeness.

Page 423. Satans representing himself to the fight of men in the shape of innocent persons doing mischief to man, may be without prejudice to, or perverting of Gods Ordinance of Civil Justice.

1. Satan may represent himself to the Ima|ginations *&c.* I lay *Imagination*; for the Appa|•tion of a person to the sick (or obsessed) per|son in their fits, may be often times only to their Imaginations. Some of our afflicted per|sons have when they come out of their fits de|clared, that in them they saw an army of men in rank & file; other times the representation of heavenly beauty, white men and then a|gain fire and hellish torments. Now all these might be only the working of their Phantasies, by Satans presentations to Imagination, and the like may be of other things and persons. Yea some such have complained of their own Pa|rents seeming to them to torment them, which mig• be the abuse of Phantasie.

Yet persons not under such Diabolical im|pressions, may by some disease or sores and va|pours thence ascending, have the Images of persons represented to their Imagination.

Mr. *John Phillips* of *Boston*, told me, *That he had a sore swelled Legg, and lying in the warm bed with Eyes open, he saw, as he thought, Women in silk cloathing come to his bed side, and spake to them: but a man that stood by said there were no Women; whereupon be suspected the man of Conju|ring* Page 43 *tricks; which moved him to send for a Phy|sitian three Miles off (for it was nigh* Black point) *and all the time the Messenger was gone, was he haunted with these Women, as they seemed to him. The*

Physitian sent word, that the vapours ascend|ing from his f•re Legg had caused a water in his Eyes, and disturbance in his Braines, by means whereof he was troubled with such Visions; and sending an eye water to wash his eyes with, and a cordial to take inwardly; upon the use of these, this disturbance vanished in half a quarter of an hour. If a disease may do this, what may Satan working upon bodily distempers and vapours impose upon the Imaginations?

2. *Prop.* Satan can assume a bodily likeness and represent himself therein to mans bodily eyes, that is, if the Lord permit him.

1. He that could make a fire in the Air to come down upon *Jobs* Sheep, *&c. Job* 1.16. Can make a visible Shape and appear, and act in it as he did in that fire to consume Servants and Sheep: But so did Satan. Therefore.

2. He that could by *Pharaohs* Sorcerers repre|sent to him Serpents, Froggs & Blood; and to *S•ul* dead *Samuels* Shape; can assume a bodily likeness, *&c.* but so did Satan, as *Exod.* 7. & 8. *Chap.* 1 *Sam.* 28 of which more hereafter, *&c.*

3. Our Saviour signifies that a Spirit may ap|pear in likeness of a man. *Math.* 14 26, 27. *v.* compar'd with *Luk.* 24.36, 37, 38, 39, 40. Fo•, (1.) The disciples supposed the Person of Christ Page 44to be a Spirit. *Phantasma*, that is a Spectre. *Pneuma*, a Spirit *i. e.* in bodily likeness, which shews they had such an apprehension, that a Spirit could assume a visible bodily like|ness. (2.) Christ in answer doth not say, there can be no such visible representation; but seeks to satisfy them, by convincing them that it is himself: *And therefore shews them his hands and feet. Luk.* 24. thereby to convince them that he is not a Spirit. (3.) Christ speaks of a Spirit in general, which comprehends an evil Spirit as well as a good one.

4. That Satan appeared to our Saviour when tempted, *Mat.* 4.3. at the end of forty days in a visible Shape, I prove by these arguments.

1. It's said Christ was tempted of Satan all the forty days, *Mark* 1.13. and *Luk.* 4.2. yet *Mat.* 4.2, 3. It's said when he had fasted fourty days, and was hungry, the Tempter came to him (*prosethion auto*) which implies another manner of coming to him, and tempt|ing of him, than had been the fourty days before, and now he spake. *Eipen. Mat.* 4. 3, 6, 9. *Legei*. These expressions note Satan speaking with an audible voice, which implies a visible bodily shape speaking.

2. He said *these Stones. Mat.* 4 & *Luke* 4. This *Stone*, as if he had pointed with the fin|ger, or bodily Organ at some peculiar Stone or Stones, as a corporeal agent.

3. It is said, Satan taketh Christ up into the Holy City, setteth him on the Pinacle, taketh Page 45him up into an high Mountain, and sheweth him, brought him to *Jerusalem*. These words Taking, Bringing, Setting, (in Greek, in non-Latin alphabet) are words which are used to no•e the actings of one bo|dily agent to another usually.

5. Satan sheweth to the Man Christ, all the *Kingdoms of the World, and the Glory of them, in a moment of time (En stigme Chronou*) in one poynt of time. Now we know the World is •ound, and that a man can see but a small part of it at once. Therefore that which Satan set before the eyes of Christ, was not all the Kingdoms of the World themselves, but an image and representation of them, and of their Glory, which Satan had framed. And of these might Satan say, as, *Luk.* 4 6. *All this power will I give thee and the glory of them: for that is delivered unto me, and to whomsoever I will, I give it.* If then Satan can make an Image of the Kingdoms of the World, and of their glory which is the greater, then can he make the Image of a man, which is the lesser, and appear to man in such an image: And so appearing can speak and act in and by it as he spake and acted of old by the Serpent unto *Eve*, and by the Possessed in the Gospel. Whether Satan makes such a visible body by gathering the rays called *Species Visibiles*, which flow from every body, whereby its shadow is represented in a Looking-glass and Water, or Page 46as the rays of the Sun invisibly scattered in the Air are by a burning glass contracted and condensed so as to kindle a Fire, or by other means, I determine not. But History as well as the Scripture abundantly testifie, that such Spirits, or Aieral Bodies have appeared unto men, called Apparitions or Ghosts. See *Increase Mathers Remarkable Providences, Baxter* of *Apparitions*, and other Authors. I have also spoken with very credible persons of discretion and piety that have told me they have seen such Apparitions when in their perfect health and senses. But I spare to enlarge.

3. *Proposition* is, Satan may represent himself doing mischief in the shape of an innocent person, without prejudice to, or perverting of Gods Ordinance of Civil Justice.

1. If Satan (can assume the likeness of a man, as is above proved) then it's alike easy in it self for him to personate an innocent, as a guilty person, if we look to his natural power: For according to natural causes by which he worketh, ones Image is as easily formed as the others. And no doubt he will sometimes personate the innocent, unless the Lord restrain him.

2. That Satan hath so done is proved by Mr. *Increase Mather*, in his *Cases of Conscience*, Printed *Anno* 1693. by several Histories. To which I shall add one out of *W•rus de Prastigiis, &c. p.* 661.

Page 47*Among us* (saith he) *A Pretor went to a Con•er, and by his discovery apprehended many Women, and had them burned* (that is for Witches) *at last the Conjurer told him, he would shew him one Witch more if he would not take it amiss, and impeached the Pr•tors Wife, and prefixed an hour, when he should see her in a Dance with other Witches The* Pretor *consents and calls his friends and kindred to feast wi•h his Wife at that time, and rising from the Table, commands his Wife and Friends to sit still at the Table till he returned. Being carried by the Conjurer where he pleased, be shewed him a Company of Witches in their Dances and unlawful pleasures, and the* Pretors *Wife with them. Then returning home, he found his friends in the same order he left them, and his Wife with them, and by the testimony of all present, found upon*

studious enquiry that his Wife had kept her place in his absence. He opened the mat|ter to them, repenting for punishing the innocent.

3 Satan personating the innocent in doing mischief is no prejudice to Civil Justice, if it can be found out that the mischief so done is the act of Satan, and not the act of the person represented. For what wickedness Satan doth, Satan shall be judged for, and what man doth, man must be judged for. Every one shall bear his own burthen. *Gal* 6 5. And Satans wickedness herein may be found, (most com|monly, if not always) by such means as those, if thorough care and diligence be used.

Page 48 1. If it can be proved that the party repre|sented was in another place at that time: As was the case of the *Pretors* Wife above menti|oned.

2. If when the afflicted complain they see *John* or *Thomas* upon them, pinching, or hurt|ling of them or others, can neither see any per|son there, nor by feeling perceive any flesh or bones, they may conclude there's not the very person complained of, but either an abused I|magination, or the Devil personating to the afflicted the person complained of. For Christs rule is, *Luk* 24.39 *A Spirit hath not flesh and bones as ye see me have*.

3. If the supposed person come into the room through the Key hole, or when there is no place open for a person to come in by, then conclude, its not the person but the Devil seen there. A Spectre can come in by a pin-hole: but Satan cannot bring in the body of a man or woman in at such a place: for if so then Sa|tan could work a miracle property so called, which he cannot do. When Christ •ame bo|dily into the midst of the room the doors be|ing shut. *Job* 20.19, 20. It was a miracle be|yond all Satans signs and lying wonders. The Gospel is confirmed by Gods testimony with signs and wonders and divers miracles. Such Satan cannot do, for then he could sub|vert our Gospels confirmation.

4. When a supposed person is seen in their Page 49 full proportion and then changed into the form of another Creature, as a Cat, *&c.* This is a Spectre not the person. The turning *Lots* Wife into a pillar of Salt was a proper Mira|cle beyond the power of Devil or Angel of themselves to perform. But a Spectre can change its shape like the Wind under Ice run|ning upon the water. This well weighed will confute many fond Stories that have passed, that such a Woman is a Witch, for she was seen in her full proportion, and then turned into a Cat, and back at last into a Woman; for all this was either a phantasie in the brains, or a Phantasma before the Eyes.

5 If a person (or so esteemed) pass by us on the soft Snow, or dirt, and leave no foot|steps behind them, this is to be esteemed a Spectre, and not the real person, unless the per|son were carried by Satan in the Air. This was brought for an Evidence against a Wo|man, that she was seen nigh *Malden* in a Moonshiny night passing on the Snow, and left no footsteps behind her; when she might be in her House at *Newbury*, and either the Phantasie of the Witness was abused, or a Spectre passed by him in her Image. Yet if it had been her person so carried by Satan, this would not prove her a Witch, unless her

consent were given to it. *Goodwins* Children were carried in the Air by Satan, as saith *Me|morable Providences. P.* 14, 15.

Page 506. If the prints of biting of teeth, pinching with fingers, pricking with pins or irons be made on the Bodies of the Afflicted, and no hand, mouth or Body can be seen or felt to do it, this is to be imputed to Satan, and not to a real person doing of it.

By these or such like means, due circum|spection being used, when Satan personates the innocent, his fallacy and malice may be discovered, at least ordinarily. Yet if the Lord should suffer Satan so to act, and not be discovered after all means used to find the fal|lacy (which I never yet read or heard he did) this must be reckoned among the unsearchal|ble acts of Divine Soveraignty, which men may humbly admire; but not make rules up|on such a supposal for humane judicature to proceed upon. These premises considered, we may inter, That if Satan may personate an innocent party to one tormented by him; then, if the Lord permit it, to two, yea to ten. And if once he may do so, then twice, yea, twenty times, if suffered, and yet the person so represented be innocent. And all the danger of injustice being done to that innocent party, ariseth not from Satans acting, so much as from mans mistaken faith and suspicion about Sa|tans act.

Hence then we may confute a vulgar error of people, that will conclude, that such a Wo|man is, or was a Witch, for she was seen in Page 51the Air one night flying Southward, another time to a Vessel, and other times up into the Country. When all this time the Devil thro' Divine permission either did it, or imposed up|on the Imaginations of the Spectators. And here we may take notice, that a true faith is so pleasing to the Lord, that he do•h great things for his Servants, for their faiths sake; so that Christ saith, *Mat.* 8.13 *As thou hast believed, so be it done unto thee. All things are possible to him that believeth. Great is thy faith, be it unto thee, as thou wilt. Thy faith hath made thee whole. Mark.* 9.25. *&* 10 52. *&* 15.28. Why may not a false faith in these matters provoke the Lord to say unto us, *As you believe, be it unto you*? And let Satan loose to do strange things as the Accuser of the Brethren, to mislead them to accuse one another.

CHAPTER VI.

ANother Principle much insisted on, is; That the Devil when he doth harm to persons in their Body or Estate, it is (at least most commonly, generally and frequent|ly) by the help of our Neighbour: That is, some Witch or Conjurer, or such like in Cove|nant with the Devil. Sir *Matthew Hale*, in his Printed Observations upon the Tryal of those Witches he Condemned, (Printed *Anno* 1682) draws this inference from hence, That Page 52the Devil when he hurts the Body or Goods of men, is in some sort subject to Humane Justice, though not in himself, yet in his Co|venant Servants, by whom he is set a work to do such mischiefs.

The unsoundness of this principle appeareth by the Scripture instances of Satans so afflict|ing man when we read of no Witch to set him on work. As,

1. When God let Satan loose to try *Jobs* patience, *Job* 1 *&* 2 *Chap.*

2. When Satan bound the Body of a Daugh|ter of *Abraham* eighteen years.

3. When Satan tryed the affections of the *Gergesens*, and was Gods Instrument to punish their Worldliness by drowning their Swine, who ran violently down a steep place (as if they had been bewitched, according to the o|pinion of many now a days) into the Sea, be|ing driven of the Devils.

4. We have many Instances of the possessed with the unclean Spirits that were tormented and vexed by Satan, to quicken men to prayer, *Mat.* 17.21. and to shew Christs power.

5. Some by their own presumptuous deal|ing with Satan, have given him power, or at least opportunity to strip and wound them; as the *Exorcists, Acts* 19.13. *&c.*

Seeing then we have so many instances of Satans afflicting, without Witches help, and no clear Scripture instance of his afflicting Page 53mankind in Body, or Estate by Witchcraft; It's unsafe to conclude generally that those that are under Diabolical molestations are be|witched. For when persons are perswaded their Relations are bewitched, they presently enquire, who is the Witch? and who should they fasten their suspicions upon, but on these that the Afflicted cry out against in their fits?

Q. *But is it not evident, that the Afflicted at* Salem *Village, and parts adjacent*, Anno 1691, 2. *were Bewitched*?

A. Whether those Sufferings by Satan pro|ceeded at first from Witchcraft or no, I shall leave to a further disquisition.

But as for the most of those Sufferers, I con|ceive they were such as in the Gospel are cal|led, *Daimonizomenoi. Mat.* 4 24. *Daemoniaci Daemoniacks*: I do not mean in that degree of Internal Possession, as those out of whom the Spirits were cast out. *Mat.* 8.16. But with such a degree of external possession or obses|sion of Satan, which rendred them like the *Demoniacks* mentioned, in many things.

1. As they were grievously vexed with the Devil. (in non-Latin alphabet) as the Damsel. *Matt* 15.22. compare this with *Mark* 7.25. She had an unclean Spirit. So were ours vexed with invisible agents, biting, pricking, pinching and vexing of them.

I will not say but among so many thus Suf|fering, some of them at some time might Page 54counterfeit part of their Sufferings, and it might be from Satans policy to intangle the whole affair. But for the most part they were as those we read of, *Luk.* 6.18. *Vexed with un|clean Spirits.*

2. We read, *Mat.* 17.15. of them that *oft|times fell into the fire and into the water, being Lunatick*; but were cast this way & that by an Evil Spirit. *Mark* 9.17, *to* 30. So were some

of ours by an evil spirit transported from place to place, and in danger of being burnt, or drowned, but that Satan was restrained, as in case above said.

3. The possessed man, *Mark.* 5.4. had more than humane strength in breaking fet|ters and chains. So some of these in their fits performed that which was above their own strength.

4. The possessed damsel, *Act.* 16.16 did by the Devil soothsay; that is, discover secrets in a prophetical way: (she did *manteuein*.) So some of these did by the Devils means tell of persons and things, absent and future, as when such another fit should come again, *&c.* where such a person absent was, and what he did: insomuch that had they been *Sui juris*, persons free from Diabolical obsession, and overpower|ling force, they might justly have been questio|ned for dealing with a familiar Spirit. But the force they were under was their vindication, as it was here, *Act.* 16.16.

Page 55 5. The possessed of old were some of them exceeding fierce. *Mat.* 8.28. So were some of these afflicted persons fierce, troublesome and mischievous in their fits, beyond their natural temper and behaviours at other times. From these things compared together, why may we not judge these demoniacks, as well as those in the Gospel? And that its possible for Satan in these times to afflict thus without Witches, as well as in those? Seeing these did also in their fits *fome, gnash their teeth and pine away*, as he did, *Mark* 9.18.

And here we may observe the weakness of the signs given by the *Common Law*, to know who is bewitched; (which signs as *Keeble* saith, are taken out of the tryals in *Lanehashire*, and from *Bernard*:)

For the first sign given is; The wasting of a person and the cause unknown: This sign is very fallible: for,

1. The wasting may proceed from an un|known disease. And the ignorance of Physi|tians may ascribe that to Witchcraft which pro|ceeds from a natural hidden disease.

2. *Jobs* sore boyles from head to foot came from Satan without Witchcraft, and the cause of them was most probably hidden from the common practice of Physitians.

The second sign they give is, When two per|sons are taken together in the like strange fits. This may be a sign of persons possessed, and Page 56 hapned often in the experiences at *Salem*, a|mong the persons possessed, as abovesaid

The third sign given is, When the afflicted party truly telleth what the suspected person is doing at a distance. This is rather a sign of a person possessed.

And we find the two men possessed, *Matth.* 8. 23 *&c.* had like fits, for both kept among the Tombs, both were exceeding fierce, so as to hinder persons passing that way, both together made the same outcry to Jesus, that he should not torment them. These things

shew a unity among the Devils afflicting them: but no unity of Witches joyning with them.

Fourth sign is, When the afflicted out of their fits know nothing what they did, or said in them. But this (if our obsessed or possessed persons said truly) often fell out in the tormen|ted at *Salem*.

Fifth sign, Supernatural strength in their fits. Now this is a sign of the possessed, *Mark* 5.4. Who in their fits brake chaines and fetters.

Sixth sign is, When the afflicted vomit pins, nailes, irons, *&c.* To this I say, whether these pins, nailes, *&c* are by the Devil brought invi|sibly to the mouths of the persons so vomiting and so cast out from their mouths, but not out of their stomacks or throats; or whether they are insensibly conveyed by the working of Satan into the stomacks or throats of the persons vo|miting, and so vomited forth, neither the one Page 57nor the other, can certainly prove the vomiter bewitched, unless it be made manifest that Sa|tan doth thus vex the party by confederacy with a Witch. But where Satan hath a per|mission to vex and possess a person he may do these things, as well as other things he did unto the possessed mentioned in the Gospels.

The seventh sign is, The afflicted person having the sight of the apparition of the sus|pected party, and when the mischief of a fit or the like following shortly after. Now it hav|ling been already proved, that Satan can repre|sent, to those that are possessed, innocent per|sons: it is not to be wondered that Satan should represent to the eyes or imagination of a possessed sufferer, a Spectre representing a suspected innocent person just before he casteth them into a fit, especially seeing hereby he gaines upon the credulity of the possessed, and their friends, for the accusing an innocent, and it may be a godly person; for this helps for|ward his design as the accuser of the brethren. *Rev.* 12.10.

I would then from these considerations infer, That if a party handled as in the seven par|ticulars above expressed, cannot thereby be said to be bewitched, Then there is no need, unless somewhat else appear, to trouble our selves to enquire who is the Witch that troubleth such a party.

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CHAPTER. VII.

3. ANother principle improved in these Enquiries is, When the party suspe|cted looks upon the parties supposed to be be|witched, and they are thereupon struck down into a fit, as if struck with a Cudgel. This bewitching by the eye is an opinion Seventeen Hundred years old,

Nescio quis-teneros oculis mihi fascinat agnos.

Virgil.

Mr. *Gaul* in his Book, Printed 1648. page 128. Saith, *Some Witches by inspecting, or looking on, but to a glance, or squint, or peep at with an envious eye, is sufficient to effascinate*. And we may find much use made of this experiment in Tryals in *England* mentioned by *Baxter, Glanvil* and *Burton*. And however this seemled a presumption at *Salem Village*, yet at length it was apparent to be a delusion of Satan. For this experiment was found at the Tryals of persons when the Accused sought to clear themselves, and it cannot be conceived that then they would act Witchcraft to hasten their own Condemnation: And no person can be said to act Witchcraft against their own will and consent.

Again, we read, *Mark* 9.20. That when the possessed was brought unto Christ, and saw Christ, then the Spirit tare him, and he fell to the ground and wallowed foaming. So Page 59that the Devil chose this time and place to cast the possessed into a fit even in the presence of Christ. Let us then consider these Afflictled to be Demoniacks, and we must own, it's in Satans power to cast them into a fit in the presence, and upon the sight of the Accused. And if this may increase the suspicion against the Accused, it's for his interest to chuse such a time.

4. Another presumption made use of hath been to cause the suspected to touch the party supposed to be bewitched, and if that touch bring the party out of their fit, this hath been esteemed by many a strong suspicion at least, as may be read in some of the fore cited Authors.

And Mr. •*lanvil* supposeth a Philosophical reason for it, *viz.* that the Witch by the cast of her eye sends forth a Malefick Venome into the Bewitched to cast him into a fit, and therefore the touch of the hand doth by a sympathy cause that venome to return into the Body of the Witch again. As when a person is stung by a Snake, the application of the Body or flesh of the same Snake to the wound will draw back the poyson into its former fountain. But the truth is both these effects depend upon the Devils free agency: And he frames his things much according to the opinion of the Spectators, with intent to deceive. I never could see reason to justlfy Page 60such a kind of Tryal (though allowed by *Bernard* as lawful to be used;) but since I have more considered it, I look upon it very unwarrantable to be used, being as it were the putting a staff into the hand of Satan, to try what he will do with it. For the recovery of the party out of the Fit hereby must be from a natural or divine cause, or from the Devil We cannot prove either of the two former and if the third, its but the Devils testimony, and therefore not to be used by us.

5. Another practice hath been when the party suspected is in Prison, and the Afflicted cry out they are miserably tormented by them; If then the suspected party be bound, and the afflicted person thereupon, have ease or release of their fits, then this is a presumption

that the suspected party is guilty. This was used at *Isanbal, Anno* 1661. (see *Glanvil, page* 168.) and the success answered the expectati|on.

But this is no ground so much as of suspici|on, because it depends either upon some physi|cal efficacy in binding to give the party ease, or upon the precontract of the suspected made with Satan, or from the voluntary act of the Devil ceasing to afflict at such a time; neither of the two former can be proved: not any physical vertue in the binding the party; for how can cords bind a Spirit, and as for the Page 61Contract with Satan, that remains yet to be proved, and if such there be, yet the terms of it are to us unknown; and the Devil being a Lyar from the beginning, will keep or break his own promises, so as suites the interest of his Kingdom. So that in such cases we can ascribe the release of the afflicted only to Sa|tans agency and policy by such a vile abusing the mischief of those which make the tryal.

6. The like is to be said when a Demoni|ack finds ease of their fits upon the apprehend|ing, or condemning, or Execution of the per|son complained against. For that ease may come by Satans policy, desisting his rage to confirm our error: or from Divine Favour in answer of prayer, or pity to the distressed.

CHAPTER. VIII.

7. A Seventh principle is, If the party sus|pected appear in Spectre to the af|flicted, and the afflicted give a blow with a knife, sword, *&c.* unto the Spectre (or some other in their behalf) and the Spectre seems wound|ed, or bleeding, or to have their garment torn, or slit by the blow received. And that the party Spectrally represented be presently search|ed, and there is found upon their body a wound, or blood, *&c.* on the same part of their body, or a rent, or cut upon the same part of Page 62the garment, which appeared upon the Spectre unto the afflicted. This hath been counted a strong evidence to prove the party suspected to be a confederate with Satan in afflicting t• complainer. As by Judge *Archer* in *Coxes* cas• Executed at *Taunton, Anno* 1663. (See *Glanv• part* 2. *p.* 196) But let us search this to the bottom; and there is no ground of suspicion in such a kind of probation. For the ground of the suspicion ariseth hence *viz.* That what wound or mark is given to the Spectre (that is to the Devils aerial assumed body) is transla|ted thence unto the person setting this Spectre on work to afflict; or to their garments, if the mark be on that. But we have no sufficient ground to know this.

1. For if it must be so, it must be either (1.) From some sympathy in nature between the Spectre and the party represented by it. But this we have no ground in reason to conclude; for whence or how should such a sympathy be between an humane body, and the Devil in the Image or likeness of it? Or if it were, how can there come such a sympathy between the garment of a person and the Devil appearing in the likeness of that garment? Surely the garment was not in any league with Satan? (2) Or this comes to pass by vertue of the Co|venant between Satan and this confederate: if so we say, I ask how come we to know there is such an article in the bargain with the De|vil? Page 63or if we

know there were such an article in their agreement, how can we tell, that the Devil will stand to his own Covenant? Or, (3.) This comes to pass by the Immediate hand of God making such a translation of a wound *&c.* unto a Witch that they may thereby be discovered; which if so, it is preternatural if not supernatural. And we have no ground from Scripture to expect such a sign from God; and therefore to expect it is to be guilty of the sin of that Wicked Generation, that sought after a sign. *Math.* 16.4. *Which should not be given to them.* Or (4) This translation cometh (if there be any such) from the Devil as a free & powerful Spirit, afflicting the body or affecting the garment so marked: And if it be from hence, its the Devils testimony which ought to be no credit with mankind.

2. The true state of this case seems to be this; That the person or garment so represen|ted to the Afflicted by a Spectre was wound|ed, or bleeding, or cut or rent before. And the Devil knowing this, represents to the afflicted (or striker at the Spectre) that part of the Spectre which answers the Body wounded, or garment rent or torn, the Searchers finding such wounds upon, or rents about the person suspected are ready to conclude it was done by the stroke at the Spectre which was done before. I shall confirm this by instances.

There was at *Ghelmsford*, an Afflicted per|son, Page 64that in her fits cryed out against a Wo|man, a Neighbour, which Mr. *Clark*, the Mi|nister of the Gospel there could not believe guilty of such a Crime. And it hapned while that woman was milking her Cow, the Cow struck her with one horn upon her Forehead and fetched blood, and while she was bleeding, a• Spectre in her likeness appeared to the party Afflicted, who pointing at the Spectre, one struck at the place, and the Afflicted said, you have made her forehead bleed. Hereupon some went to the woman, and found her fore|head bloody, and acquainted Mr. *Clark* with it; who forthwith went to the woman, and asked how her forehead became bloody, and she answered by a blow of the Cows horn, as above said, whereby he was satisfied that it was a design of Satan to render an innocent person suspected.

Another instance was at *Cambridge*, about fourty years since: There was a man much troubled in the night with Cats, or the Devil in their likeness haunting of him, whereupon he kept a light burning, and a Sword by him as he lay in bed; for he suspected a Widow woman to send these Cats or Imps by Witch|craft to bewitch him. And one night as he lay in bed, a Cat or Imp came within his reach, and he struck her on the back; and upon enquiry heard this Widow had a sore back: this confirmed his suspicion of the Wi|dow, Page 65he supposing that it came from the wound he gave the Cat. But Mr. *Day* the Widows Chyrurgeon cleared the matter; say|ing, this Widow came to him and complained of a sore in her back, and because she could not see it, desired his help; and he found it to be a Boyl, and ripened and healed it as he used to do other Boyls But while this was in cure, the supposed Cat was wounded as al|ready rehearsed.

But some may say when such wounds or rents come, it's not the Spectre that's struck but the real person or garment is there present, but by vertue of the Charm, or Witchcraft, a mist is cast between the Witch and Spectators in the room, whereby the person becomes

in|visible to all of them except the bewitched Sufferer. As some juglers have seemed to creep through a Tree or Log, when indeed its only upon the Tree or Log; but by inchantment a shadow of the Log or Cloud is cast over the Log between the Jugler and Spectators, where|by they are deceived.

I Answer, If it were so, then those that strike with Sword, or other Instrument, and wound the party might feel some body, or garment stopping the force of their blow; for a Body can be felt if it cannot be seen, as a|bove shewed. But when the stricken instru|ment feels no harder substance than Air to stop its force, and there seems to be a person in the Page 66way to the Afflicted's eye: We may conclude its but a Spectre, or deluded imagination.

CHAPTER IX.

8. IF after Cursing there follows Death, or at least some mischief: This saith *Per|kins* (in his Discourse of Witchcraft, *Chap.* 7. *Sect.* 2.) This is a presumption. For Witches are wont to practise their mischievous facts by cursing and banning. This also is a sufficient matter of Examination.

I acknowledge when persons curse or threa|ten others to kill them, or do other mischief to their Bodies or Estates, and the mischief threat|ned is performed as threatned; here is ground so far to suspect the theatner, as to question them about it, unless it appeareth to be per|formed by some other person or cause. So if after Cursing there follows Death, *&c.* And it appeareth to be done by Witchcraft, this is a ground to suspect and examine the threat|ner, unless there be grounds to suspect some other Author of the Witchcraft. But as the proposition is laid down generally by Mr. *Per|kins*, as a general rule I conceive it's unsafe.

1 Because such death, or mischiefs oftimes proceed from other causes, so that there is no ground to impute them to Witchcraft. For,

1. Some persons are of such hasty spirits and Page 67unruly tongues, that their mouth is dayly full of cursing and bitterness, *Rom* 3.14.

2. There be few House-keepers, where are many in Family and a Stock about them; but that by the hand of God, Death at some times enters upon some person in the Family, and Cattel sometimes dye by Diseases and Casual|ties: Who is there that hath an Estate, but at some times they meet with losses?

3. Hence it falls out that these calamities, some of them happen at or nigh some one time of their angry neighbours cursing, who had cursed them ten times before, or threatned them, and yet no such calamity ensued. And this their last threatning had no more influence upon the evil befalling the Family, than the ten causeless Curses that went before, as *Prov.* 26.2. What then doth all this prove? A tongue set on fire, and it may be from hell; but not a Covenant with Hell to procure the calamities that befal their Neighbours.

Again, some are of such a suspicious tem|per, that they are apt to impute all sad acci|dents that do befal them, to proceed from Witchcraft, and thereby in suffering times are apt to be jealous of their Neighbours that come frequently to their Houses in their day of ad|versity, as causers of these afflictions by some charming or inchantment.

Again, It may be Queried, Whether Satan may not sometimes take advantage upon the Page 68times when neighbours contend with, and threaten those that live by them, to do some hurt to the Bodies or Goods of those threat|ned, that thereby he may cast upon the party threatned, the imputation of Sorcery. Doubt|less as he is *the Accuser of the Brethren, Rev.* 12 He would so do if the Lord will permit him to indanger the life of the threatner. And who can tell but that the Lord may permit him at sometimes so to do, for a just punish|ment to such unbridled tongues? I remem|ber, that above fourty years ago, when there was a great discourse about Witches; *A very holy man heard his Wife say, she desired a sucking Pig; and be going to a Neighbours house, saw a Sow with a litter of Pigs, and took a phantasie to one of them in particular for his Wife, and asked the Owner for that Pig; the Owner denied him: Hereupon he went away in a great passion, very unsuitable to such a person. And that very Pig left its dam and Company, and followed this man to his home*. This was observed in the day of it, it was supposed Satan might have some hand in it, taking advantage upon the passion of so good a man, to render him suspected by such an accident if he could.

9. If any person, man or woman be noto|riously defamed for such a party. This *Per|kins* (*eodem loco*) makes a presumption. But in truth there is no weight in this, unless those neighbours among whom the suspected party Page 69lived had good grounds for their suspicion: Because many persons have drunk in false principles about the tokens by which a Witch is to be known; and judge of persons accord|ding to those false principles (some of which are above recited) which may asperse the most innocent and righteous person living. Our Saviour was slandered as if he *cast out De|vils by Belzebub the Prince of Devils, Mat.* 12: 24. *And the Disciple is not above his Master, Mat.* 10.25. Some persons will put an evil construction upon an innocent action, and so raise an evil fame against a person; and then others believing it, are apt to look upon other actions with a squint eye, and through the multiplying glass of their own jealousies, make a Mole-hill seem a Mountain, to render an hated or despised neighbour evil spoken of.

10. If the party suspected be the Son or Daughter, or Man-servant, or Maid servant, or familiar friend, near Neighbour, or old Companion of a known and convicted Witch. This may be a presumption, saith *Perkins*. But unto all these it may be said, there is no more ground to suspect any person of this crime upon such relations or circumstances, then there is to presume a person is a Thief, or Murderer, or Drunkard, *&c.* because he is the Child, Servant, Neighbour, *&c.* of a Thief, Murderer, Drunkard, or the like, convicted Page 70Criminal. Which may be, or may not be if the Lord incline the heart of him or her that is so related, to abhor such wickedness. As the Wheat and Tares grow together in the same Field: So Good and Wicked in the same Neighbourhood, Family; yea, and lying in the same Bed, *so that one shall be taken, and the other left, Mat.* 24.40, 41. *Luk.* 17.34,

35, 36. The Lord saith, *The Son shall not dye for the sin of the Father, Ezek.* 18.14 & 21. *ver.* If the Son, (Servant or Neighbour, or Companion) seeth the sins of his Father, *&c.* and doth not the like, *&c.* he shall not dye, *&c.* which shews that these so related may and sometimes do see and abhor the ways of wickedness, those so near unto them walk in, and abhor them, therefore they are not to be suspected, meerly upon that account.

11. Some make this a presumption. If a person sick and dying, doth take it upon his or her Death, that such an one hath bewitch|ed them. See *Perkins Chap.* 7. *page* 210. So *Keeble* on the Common Law, saith, the testimo|ny of the person hurt upon their death com|plaining against a person, that they appeared to them and bewitched them. Now in this ease it must be considered whether this dying person were not under Diabolical Molestations, or an abused phantasie, or under ungrounded suspicions of the party they complained of be|fore they were so sick. And the grounds of Page 71their suspicions are to be thorowly considered, before the survivers make this a ground of sus|picion. Sure all this may proceed from false principles (as there Expressed) drunk in by a well meaning, but mistaken dying person.

CHAPTER X.

12. SOme saith *Perkins*, do add this for a pre|sumption. If the party suspected be found to have the Devils mark: for it is com|monly thought, when the Devil maketh his Covenant with them, he always leaveth his mark behind him. *Bernard* makes it a ground of Conviction. (*Gaul* only a presumption.) And *Tertullian* (who lived above 1400 years ago) says, It's the Devils custom to mark his; and note, saith *Bernard*, That this mark is in|sensible, and being pricked, it will not bleed, sometimes like a teat (and the Devil sucks, or toucheth them:) sometimes but a blewish spot, sometimes a red one, and sometimes the flesh sunk.

I conceive such a mark is neither ground of conviction or suspicion.

1. Because the Lord sometimes in anger, and sometimes for tryal of his Servants, sends such marks upon the Bodies of men, as are un|usual; as the *Emerods upon the Philistins*, 1 *Sam.* 5, 6, 7 Which made those Heathens say, *The Hand of the God of Israel is sore upon us*. And Page 72*Deut.* 28. 27, 35. *God threatens to punish his peo|ple for their sins, with a botch, emerods and with the Itch whereof they could not be healed.* So then some of these sores might constantly be moist as if they had been sucked.

2. Many persons have naturally, or by some sickness or hurt, received some sores, like, if not the same with those they call the Devils marks. I knew a man, that lived and dyed without the least suspicion of that crime, that told me he had a natural issue upon his breast from his youth up, which distilled about a drop or two in twenty four hours, so that it was alwayes moist, and conduced much to his health. And as for the weaker Sex; The Lord hath said unto *Eve*, and her Daughters, *In sorrow shall be thy Conception*; but instanceth not in the parti|culars. But experience hath shewed upon some sober and pious

women, after hard Travels and the like, that they have had those Excrescen|ces which are called, *Pili Uteri* And I have been informed by a skilful Midwife that hath known vertuous women that have had those Piles, and that they are without sence of feel|ling, sometimes and after cold, handling, *&c.* are apt to draw up into the Body. Satan knows who hath (by the hand of God) such suspected marks, which the Lord lays on them as their affliction, & if he can by other means get them to be suspected, and their Bodies searched, he will hereby expose them to great|ler Page 73suspicion, if not Condemnation; if we take this for a ground of conviction or presumption of guilt. But if he attains not that, yet hereby shall sober and innocent persons be exposed to the reproach of such, who when they under|stand God hath loosed their cord, and afflicted them, will as *Job* speaks, *marr their path, set forward their calamity, and not spare to spit in their face. Job* 30.10, 11, 12, 13. For he or she that is ready to slip with his or her foot, is as a lamp despised in the thought of him that is at ease. And there may be such Excrescences from a natural cause, which yet Learned Phy|sitians cannot find out, the reason of Man knows but in part the Works of God, *Eccles.* 11. 5. *For he doth great things, and unsearchable; marvellous things without number.*

3 If we enquire how these are known to be the marks of one in league with Satan? It must come from the Confession of Witches, that have owned such things.

Now among the many Confessors at *Salem*, there were sundry declared they had such marks on them: one in her head which she said the Devil in likeness of a bird came daily, and pecked, or sucked. I saw the sore place and there was nothing to be seen to make it to differ from another sore coming by natural causes. Another said, she had the Devils mark upon her leg, which was a blew spot as broad as a Shilling: her Husband testifyed, that he saw the spot, but little suspected it to be the De|vils Page 74mark. Others had sores on other parts of their bodies, which they said the Devil sucked; but by all that, I could learn by those that saw them, there was nothing to demonstrate that they came in a preternatural way by Satan; but only the parties own affirmation: which whether true or false I leave to God and time farther to discover. And I suppose we had as many confessions and demonstrations to render what they said credible, as hath been known at any one time in some Ages. But be it so, that by the confessions of known Witches there have been upon some of the baser sort (as *Ber|nard* saith) of them, such teats, or marks. These may come by natural causes, or violent casualties, and by Satan be perverted to such an use. But if they come from Satan immediate|lly as the confessors acknowledge. This can only tend to the conviction of those that so confess, and where those marks are found: but make nothing to the proof, or suspicion of other persons to be guilty of that crime, who having such marks deny the crime, and ascribe these bodily marks to other causes. So that its far more safe wholly to lay aside the practice of searching after suspected persons teats or Witch marks, unless in those who confess them|selves to have them, and that for tryal to see whether they say true or not; then by using it to lay stress upon a fallible sign.

Page 7513. Another unsafe principle is to lay weight upon the testimony of Ghosts, as they are called; that is to say, *Spectres* appearing in the shape of the dead, and personating them. Satan by his wiles in this kind hath gained too much credit, in hours of Temptation. For it hath so happened, that when in the death of some persons there was any notice of a circumstance which might give unto a jealous eye, any colour for suspicion, that any one was accessary to their death; the Spectre personating them hath cryed out to the afflicted for vengeance against such an one for murdering them, telling the manner how, by relating the circumstances of their death: and presently people were ready to say, I remember those very circumstances in the dying of such a person. Well, it is very probable such an one murdered the party. And hereby the person suspected is accused of Witchcraft and Murder together, and by joyning these accusations together, both seem the more probable and credible. But that there is no reason to hearken to such accusations will appear if we consider.

1. That Satan can assume the shape of living innocents, as above shewed, and therefore of the dead also; as of dead *Samuel*: and that shape being assumed can say what he pleaseth, or seem to the Imagination of *daimoniacal* persons so to speak. And he being *a Lyar from the beginning, Joh.* 8.44. By his lyes he fastens what Page 76accusation he pleaseth of murder, or other crime upon the living. And if hearkened unto will, as the deceived *Eve*, by falsely accusing God, deceive us by falsely accusing our Neighbour to us.

I know Hystories speak of Ghosts discovering murders, at sometimes, and moneys lost, or acts of injustice done in the life time of the person represented by the said Ghost; which some have conceived to be the very Soul of the deceased: (and by this opinion many *Papists* have been confirmed in the error of *Purgatory*:) Some a good Angel sent in that Similitude to procure justice to be done: and some have conceived it to be the Devil compelled, *Volens Nolens*, to discover injustice, *or tranformling himself into an Angel of Light*, as 2 *Cor.* 11.14 by seeming zealous for justice. I should digress too far from my intended scope to discuss, what may be said *pro* or *con* in this matter. It sufficeth in the case, *Anno* 1692. To say we have had so much experience of the wiles of Satan appearing in the likeness of the living, that we have no reason to believe him in the likeness of the dead.

2. The hearkening after Ghosts, if we take not heed, may hurry us unawares into that sin forbidden, *Isai.* 8.19. *Viz. Seeking for the living to the dead*? What? shall we hearken to or enquire of the dead, what they can say against the living? This hath a tendency to that iniquity Page 77forbidden, *Deut.* 18.11. by the name of *Necromancy*: in Hebrew it is, *Vedoresh-el Hammethim*. A seeker unto the dead.

A like unto this deceit of Satan, was another of his devices. *Viz.* He would appear Spectrally in the shape of a Neighbour unto the afflicted, and say, I killed such and such a person, and relate in that shape the manner of the deceased's departure out of the world, by plausible and seemingly true circumstances which was in the day of it, too much

credited to augment Suspi|cions against the accused: But the invalidity of such accusations appears by what is already spoken concerning the Apparition of Ghosts.

CHAPTER. XI.

14. SOme have laid great weight upon this, When something supposed to be be|witched, or to contain the charm by which the inchantment is wrought is burned in the fire, and the party suspected comes to the fire, or seems to be burnt after it, or by such like ways concerned; this hath been esteemed a farther presumption that they are guilty. As in Sir *Mathew Hale* his condemning *Amy Duny*, Print|ed *Anno* 1682. A toad found in the blanket of *Durent* (said to be bewitched) was held in the fire till it made an horrible noise, and the next day *Amy Duny* (who was suspected to be|witch *Durent*) was found all grievously scorch|ed Page 78with the fire. The use of such experiments is justly condemned by *Perkins* and others, as after a sort a practice of Witchcraft: Yet the seeming discovery hereby made hath found en|tertainment by those that oppose the means used.

But before we give credence to such a disco|very, we must be very circumspect least we be deceived by humane knavery; as happened in a case nigh *Richmond* Island, *circiter Anno* 1659.

One Mr. Thorpe *a drunken Preacher, was got|ten in to Preach at* Black point *under the appear|ance and profession of a Minister of the Gospel, and boarded at the house of Goodman* Bayly, *and* Bay|lyes *Wife observed his Conversation to be contrary to his calling, gravely told him his way was contrary to the Gospel of Christ, and desired him to reform his Life or leave her house. So he departed from the house, and turned her Enemy, and found an op|portunity to do her an injury: and it so fell out that Mr.* Jordan *of* Spurwink *had a Cow dyed, and a|bout that time Goody* Bayly *had said, she intended such a day to travel to* Casco-Bay. *Mr.* Thorpe *goes to Mr* Jordans *man or men and saith, the Cow was bewitched to death, and if they would lay the carcass in a place he should appoint, he would burn it, and bring the Witch: and accordingly the Cow is laid by the path that led from* Black point *to* Cas|co, *and set on fire that day Goody* Ba•ly *was to travel that way, and so she came by while the Car|cass was in burning, and* Thorpe *had her questioned* *Page 79* *for a Witch: But Mr.* Jordan *interposed in her behalf: and said his Cow dyed by his Servants negligence, and to cover their own fault they were willing to have it imputed to Witchcraft; and Mr.* Thorpe *knew of* Goody Baylyes *intended Journey, and orders my Servants (said he) with|out my approbation, to burn my Cow in the way where* Bayly *is to come; and so unriddled the kna|very, and delivered the innocent*.

But suppose the case where there is no such deceit, and the suspected party comes to it, when such a thing is burned, or seems extraor|dinarily hurt or concerned at such a time, how will this prove the party guilty of the crime, he or she is suspected of? If any way, it must (1.) Proceed from some natural cause, or sym|pathy in nature, between the thing

burned, and the Witches Body; but no reason can be given of this; for a charm is wrought by the Devils power, and not by any natural power of the Sorcerer, conveying any natural venome from their own body, which by the operation of the fire should revert back into it again, as to its center or fountain. (2) Or from the immediate hand of God, causing this effect for discovery of the Guilty; which we have no warrant from the Word of God to expect (as was said in another case, *Chapt.* 8.) (3) Or by means of the person burning the thing, & using it as a charm to find out the person that laid the inchantment upon the thing burnt; Page 80which if it be affirmed truly, would rather prove the burner the Sorcerer; and so tend to clear the suspected. (4.) Or it proceeds from the Compact made between the Devil and the Sorcerer; which if any affirm, I ask how know you there is any such Covenant made? that is first to be proved, and then that this is one article in that Covenant, and that the Devil will attend to, and keep his part of the Covenant inviolable. Neither of which can be demonstrated. (5.) Or this suffering is a meer phantasie, or the free agency of the Devil, who is a lyar from the beginning, and therefore not to be he•ded. This Experiment is like the ways of trying by water, fire, bot|tling of Urine, *&c.* all which have been justly condemned as a sort of charms to be rejected by Christians.

Among the Confessors, *Anno* 1692. was a Negro Woman, who charged two women to make her a Witch, describing how she see her mark in the Devils Book. And said, if she might be permitted, she would fetch the things whereby she tormented the afflicted complain|ers. And accordingly brought an Handker|chief, wherein several knots were tyed, raggs of Cloth, a piece of Cheese and a piece of grass. And as I was credibly informed, some compel|led her to swall•w the grass, & that night she was burned in •er flesh; and one took a piece of her ragg and burnt it in the fire, and one of Page 81the Afflicted that had complained of her, was presently burned on the hand. Another piece of her rags was put under water, and then o|thers complainants were choaked, and strived for breath as if under water: And another ran to the River as if she would drown her self. Here note, that the raggs on which, as the Confessor said, the Witchcraft was laid, did when put into fire and water, affect the per|sons supposed to be thereby bewitched more than the Charmer her self. And probably the cause may be, that Satan, the Lord permitting him, may inflict his mischief on the person, the Spectators or Actors herein suppose to be con|cerned, suiting hereby his design to mans faith about it. And if so, the reason why any sus|pected person is hereby concerned is not be|cause they are guilty, but because they are suspected.

15. If the above named Signs singly taken, are not sufficient to prove a person guilty of this Crime; then when many, or most of these suspicions above named center upon the same person, they cannot prove them guilty. Nay, all of them may be fixed upon the same person, by the wiles of the Devil, and yet the person be innocent. For if Satan can assume & afflict any one in the shape of an innocent, as hath been already proved, he may also in shape of a Ghost of the deceased accuse them, and so Page 82act over the suspicions mentioned.

Quae singula non prosunt junct a non juvant.

I find in the tryals and condemnations that have been in *England* & *Ireland*, several of them have proceeded upon sundry of these suspicions put together; and so the total thence arising hath amounted to a condemnation. See *Glan|vil, part* 2 *pag.* 118. to 209. In particular in the case of *Julian Cox* before Judge *Archer, An.* 1663. *pag.* 191.

But probably it may be said, that the methods which I except against have been used with good success, for by such things Witchcrafts & Witches have been discovered, & some brought to confession and repentance, and given unde|niable demonstrations of the reality of their guilt, and recovery after it out of that snare of the Devil and therefore such ways of discovery are still to be used.

Ans. 1. Let us take it for granted, that these means have occasioned the discovery of Witches; yet if any of them a• ◊ lawful they are not to be used because of fo•mer success. Many things have been done irregularly which God hath turned to a good event; as the ly|ing of *Jacob* to get the birthright; the Selling of *Joseph* by his Brethren. Yea, the diabolical divination of *Nebucadnezar. Ezek.* 21.21. *to* 25. *vers.* proved prosperous to him. And *Balaams* inchantments to procure a curse, God turned into a blessing to *Israel* Yet none of these Page 83things are to be imitated by us upon hope of the like event to follow.

2. If the discovery abovesaid hath followed upon the use and dependance upon the means abovesaid, it may be said to come from Satan (over-ruled by the Lord to subserve his glorious purposes) as the instrument of discovery, who exposeth at some times his own Vassals to hu|mane justice, that he may cut them off from the earth: and therefore assumes their shapes or otherwise renders them suspected to their Neighbours upon such kind of presumptions, as may wrap in the guilty and innocent toge|ther, and thereby working upon the erroneous principles of men, doth (as we use to say, kill two birds with one stone,) deliver up his own Servant to ruine, and give occasion for the condemnation thereby of an innocent person. But Satan is not to be trusted when he speaks truth, or doth that which eventually proveth good, because his aim is always to do mischief thereby. Our Saviour Christ would not accept Satans worship and testimony when he spake true. *Mark* 5 6, 7, 8 And *Paul* was grieved in spirit when the Devil gave an high testimony of him to be the Servant of the most high God. *Act.* 16.16, 17, 18.

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CHAPTER. XII.

16. *BErnard* saith, Witches may be convicted by their *Extasies*: with the delight whereof, Witches are so taken, that they will hardly conceal the same: or however at some time or other they may be found in them. But the insufficiency of this kind of proof will appear by considering the various sorts of *Exta|sies*, and the diverse subjects of them. *Extasies* are either natural, divine or diabolical.

1. *Natural*, which proceeds from the consti|tution of the body, and some violent disease, as *Feaver, &c.* whereby the imagination is strangly transported, and the party conceiveth him|self to be in some glorious place & company *&c.* which proves but a meer dream of a man eating and drinking, but when he awaketh his soul is empty. *Isa* 29 8.

2. *Divine*, as the trances of *Peter, Act.* 10.10. and of *Paul, Act* 22 17.

3. Or *Diabolical*, of *Witches*, persons *Obsessed*, or *Possessed*.

Some Histories speak of strange *Extasies* of confessed Witches. *R. B.* of the kingdom of darkness. *p.* 69, 70. Tells us of a Woman con|fessing her self a Witch, who pretended she had been turned into a Wolf & killed a Sheep & Cow in that shape, and the Cow & Sheep were killed at that time. And of a man Wolf that was sus|pected Page 85in that shape, to devour Cattle, and his face had several scratches and hurts, which they said were given him by the Dogs that took him for a Wolf, and he confest himself, that twice a year he was changed from a man to a Wolf. But this change could not be real, but an abuse of Phantasie, either from a distracting Melan|choly called *Lycanthropia*, whereby he imagined he was transformed into a Wolf. Or else, if he were indeed a Wizzard, the Devil cast him into a profound trance, whereby he imagined he was killing Cattle as a Wolf; while the mis|chief done was other wise, and probably by a real Wolf.

But those that have been obsessed have had strange *Extasies*; as some of our afflicted per|sons have had their trance fits; in which they lay long time in a Swound, and when they came out of them declared they had been car|ried to delectable places, and had seen glorious sights of Men and Angels; as is in part declared above, *Chapt.* 5. So that its easier to find a per|son possessed or distracted by such *Extasies*, than to prove a person hereby in voluntary league with the Devil.

17. I come next to consider the testimony of such as confessing themselves to be Witches, do witness against others as partners with them in the same crime. This hath been accounted sufficient proof by the *Common Law*. See *Keeble. Page 86 Ibidem.* And *Glanvil. Ibidem, p.* 141. *&c.* The ground of it is from the received *Maxim*, That *Socii criminis*, partners in a crime confessing their own guilt, and discovering their compani|ons, are fit and sufficient witnesses against those their companions. As is frequently proved in cases of Murder, Treason, Robbery, Theft *&c.* and why not as well in Witchcraft? *Perkins* makes this only a presumption. But *Bernard* makes it a convictive evidence, when one or more fellow-Witches, confessing their own Witchcraft, and bearing witness against others; if they can make good the truth of their wit|ness, and give sufficient proof of it: As that they have seen them with their Spirits; — or that they have been together in their meetings, and such like. Now in the Examinations and tryals at *Salem*, there was great plenty of this kind of Testimony; for about Fifty confessing, they most of them if not all accused others as partners with them at their Witch meetings; as at a great Pond nigh *Andover*, some of them said, they met together, and some at *Newbury|falls*, and were Baptized there by *Satan*. And some at *Salem* Village as above

shewed, *Chap.* 2. & 3. Some said, they stole an horse and rode upon it in the air from *Andover* to *Salem* Pri|son, and there through the grate discoursed with one whom they accused. Another de|clared that she with widow *S.* went to Capt. *W.* and she said *S.* gave him a blow with a great Page 87stick, and yet were to him invisible: Capt. *W.* declared he had a sore blow as if with a great stick, but saw no body. Widow *S.* denyed that she struck him; then *M. G.* the confessor very boldly looked up in her face, and said, *G. S.* you know you did strike him, and I saw you do it, and then told the manner how it was done, and how they came to him and re|turned. There were many such instances which seemed exceeding demonstrative in that day. Yet upon an after review of the whole these confessors testimony appeareth to be very doubtful, if not utterly false. Yet I would not deny all evidence of confessors to be rejected: for the case may be so that persons may give such infallible signs of their own guilt of this, (as well as other crimes) and such tokens of real repentance for the same, as may render their testimony notwithstanding their former transgression as credible, as the testimony of any other confessing Malefactor. As *Manasseh* who used Witchcraft, and dealt with a familiar Spirit; *and afterward besought the Lord & hum|bled himself greatly &c.* 2 *Chron.* 33.6, 12, 13. Was as fit (had he been a Subject) to be a competent witness in any Court of Judicature, against those that had been partners with him in those abominations, as any other man.

Here we must distinguish between *Penitent Confessors*, and *Impenitent Magicians*.

If a *Magician* or white Witch (as they are Page 88called) come in to discover and testify against another to be a Witch; *This* (*as* Perkins *saith*, Chap. 7. *p.* 209.) *is no more then the Devils testi|mony, because by the Devils help he revealeth the Witch.* And indeed such are but the Devils tools to do his work at his beck, and so will as readily accuse the innocent as the guilty. But the reasons that sway with me to question the truth of the confessors, *Anno* 1692. notwith|standing their seeming repentance for such crimes, are such as these.

1. These confessors by their plausible con|fessions and accusations of others begetting cre|dit, have been a great if not the greatest Engine of Satan to carry on the accusing and appre|hending of others, until this matter came to such an height, that if it had not been stopped might have brought the best Christians in the Coun|try, under the imputation of that abomination, and have involved all in confusion or blood. The kingdom ◊ Satan being so evident in the winding up of that whole contrivance, leads us to see his finger in this principal means, for the managment of it.

2. Some of these confessors were first under diabolical vexations, (as the other afflicted or obsessed persons were) and under those tor|ments did, as they say, sign to a Book present|ed to them, real or imaginary, by which they obtained ease of their pains: And then Satan in their shapes afflicted others who accused them Page 89until they confessed. And after such confessi|ons against themselves, they also accused others, as being with them, and they were afflicted themselves, as they had been at the first and complained against their Neighbours as others did. So that these persons may justly be

esteemed *Daimonizomenoi*, under some kind of obsession and delusion of Satan all this time, and so their Phantasies and Sences abused by him all the while; Satan sometimes tearing of them as a devouring Lyon, and at other times beguiling of them, as a Subtil Serpent.

3. Others that were not so afflicted before their Confessing, were so presently after it, and so may be reckoned in the same predica|ment with the others.

4. I am jealous, and I hope with a godly jealousie, that some by these their accusations of others, hoped to gain time, and get favour from the Rulers. And that some of the inferiour sort of people did ill Offices, by promising them favour thereby more than they had ground to engage. And that some under these temptations regarded not as they should what became of others, so that they could thereby serve their own turns. And I have been credibly informed, that some have since acknowledged so much.

5. These Confessors since deny their Confes|sions, and accusing of others, or say they re|member nothing of what they said or did in Page 90that day, whether truly or not, will be more manifest another day. We may then well question the validity of those Testimonies which the Testifiers themselves do not stand to justify now the scean is changed.

18. I come in the next place to consider a persons evidence against him or her self by their Confession upon examination and trya• This is by Scripture declared to be sufficient Evidence against persons *Compotes mentis*, of a sound understanding, *Luk.* 19.22. *Out of thine own mouth will I condemn, or judge thee.* Yea, sufficient to justify an Execution upon it, whe|ther the person speak truly or not. As *David* said to the *Amalekite* that affirmed he had kil|led *Saul*. Thy mouth hath testified against thee, 2 *Sam.* 1.16. Yet its very probable that *Saul* slew himself without the help of any o|ther. 1 *Sam.* 31. 4, 5. But there have been ex|cepted, self-accusers when distracted, demoni|acks, Lunatick, under witted, over-watched, and persons surprized upon sudden fear or hope of favour to be thereby gained. So that we may hope some of those at *Salem* belied themselves.

1. Those that being grievously vexed with the Devil did, and said they well understood not what themselves. As above said.

2. It's probable, some being accused, and their own Relations among others, suspecting them, and vehemently urging them to confess Page 91themselves guilty, were so surprized and amaz|ed, that they confessed that in their haste, which they have cause to repent at leisure. And having once accused themselves, they feared to retract it presently lest a worse thing should come upon them. But since they have recanted, those Confessions, and some such there were, whose conversations before and since that day have been sober and blameless, and give cause to hope better things of them.

3 But there were others, whose Confessions seemed more free and demonstrative of reali|ty, and some who confessed upon real or pre|tended horrour of Conscience; and

these at|tended with such circumstances, that some will say, there is no believing mankind confessing their guilt of any C•ime, if these must not be believed. But I leave the true state of their case, to a farther discovery, when the Lord •lease, in this life, or when God shall Judge the secrets of men.

CHAPTER XIII.

HAving spoken of many supposed presum|ptions to discover a Witch, and shewed the invalidity of them. I shall enquire what is meant by a Witch. *Exod.* 22.18. For the clear|ing whereof, I shall enquire who are the Cri|minals condemned, *Deut.* 18.10, 11. Concern|ing whom.

Page 921. Observe, That they were all Heathens, who being ignorant of the true God, worship|ped the Devil instead of God; so that all the crimes there condemned, are crimes which so far as they related to any Deity, respected the Devil as their God.

2. That all the nine crimes there condemn|led were of a like nature in general, and are ei|ther divers names for the same thing, or set forth sins very like one to another. (1.) This appeareth in the frequent putting of sundry of them together, when they are prohibited o• condemned, as, *Lev.* 19.31. *&* 20.6, 31. *The Wizard, and him that hath a familiar spirit* are condemned together; and *Mic.* 5.12. *Witch crafts and Soothsayers*. And *Jer.* 27.9. *Divi|ners, Dreamers, Enchanters and Sorcerers*, that is Witches, are put together. *Dan.* 2.2, 27. *Magi|cians, Sorcerers, Astrologers, Soothsayers* are con|joyned. So, *Isa.* 47.9, 12, 13. & 1 *Sam.* 28.3, 8, 9. *Isa.* 8.19. *&* 19.3. (2.) The same persons are frequently charged with the guilt of the abominations, signified by several of these names together. As *Manasseh* is charged with six of these abominations. 2 *Chron.* 33.6. *viz. Cau|sing his children to pass thorow the fire, observing times, using Enchantments, using Witchcrafts, deal|ing with a familiar spirit, dealing with Wizards. Ahaz* is charged. 2 *Chron.* 28.3. with the first of these. The ten Tribes are charged with three of these abominations, 2 *King.* 17.17. Page 93*viz. Divination, Enchantments, and causing their Children to pass through the fire*. (3.) Sundry of these crimes are ranked with the gross Idolatrous worshipping of false Gods of the Apostates from the true God in *Israel*. As *Manasseh*, is charged with worshipping *Baalim* and the Host of Heaven, and then with obser|ving times, *&c.* 2 *Chron.* 33.2, 3, 5, 6. So *A|haz*, 2 *Chron.* 28.3, 4, 23, 25. So the ten Tribes. 2 *King.* 17.7, 8, 11, 12, 16, 17. And *Judah, Isa.* 2.6, 7, 8, 9. They are said to be like the *Philistin•* in Soothsayings, and worship *Idols, &c.* See *Psal.* 106.35, 36, 37, 38. 2 *King.* 23.5, 8, 10, 12, 13, 24. (4.) There seems then in all these abominations to be some idolatrous worship of the Heathen Gods, that is the De|vil, whereby some special service was done to him; and that in expectation of some great good or benefit they expected to receive from him thereby. So the *Egyptians* in their distress sought to the Idols, Charmers, Wizards, and to them that had familiar spirits. *Isa.* 19.3. That is that by those persons and means they might implore and obtain the assistance of their Gods, to deliver them from the calami|ties felt or feared.

1. The first then is making thy *Son to pass through the Fire*, that is to *Moloch*, or any false God, forbidden & condemned, *Lev* 18.21. *&* 20.2. The sin of *Ahaz.* 2 *King.* 16 3. and of *Manasseh.* 2 *King.* 21.6. *who observed times, used* Page 94 *inchantments, dealt with familiar spirits and Wiz|ards, and used Witchcrafts*. 2 *Chron.* 33.6. So that we may observe this iniquity hath some affi|nity with Witchcraft and the sins mentioned, *Deut.* 18.10, 11. partly because joyned with them in this place; and also because this and *Manassehs Witchcrafts, &c* are joyned together in the places above mentioned. And this sin is also reckoned with the Divinations and En|chantments of the Ten *Tribes*. 2 *King.* 17.17, 30, 31. *Judah* fell to it. This iniquity was a solemn dedication, or sacrificing their Sons and Daughters to the Devil, *Psal.* 106 37. though under the name of a God, as of *Moloch Lev.* 20.2. or some other false Gods. *Deut.* 12 30, 31. And this Dedication was as the Ancients describe it, of two kinds.

1. By burning their Children to death in the Fire, as a Sacrifice to the Devil; which seems to be signified by the burning in the fire, *Deu.* 12 31. *& Psal* 106.37, 38. *For they shed the innocent blood of their children.* So the *Graecians* sacrificed to *Diana, Agamemnons* Daughter, to procure a good Wind for their Fleet. *Ovid Metamorphosis, lib.* 13 This Sacrificing by the apostate *Jews*, in *Jeremiah's* time, was in *To|phet*, in the Valley of the Son of *Hinnom. Jer.* 7.31 *&* 19.5, 6. From hence it is that Hell is called in the Greek, *Geenna. Mat.* 5.22, 29, 30. From the hebrew *Gehinnom*, *&* *Tophet. Isa.* 30.33. God hereby shewing the detestation Page 95he had of their Idolatry and Cruelty in those Sacrifices.

2. There was another sort of passing thro' the Fire; when the Child passed between two fires, as a solemn dedication of him to that false God they sacrificed unto. This prob|bly was *Manasseh's* sin, 2 *Chron.* 33.6. For it's said, *be caused his children to pass thorow the fire*. But he did not sacrifice to death all his Children; Though he might by such a dedication, conse|crate them to the host of Heaven, or to the Heathen Gods. By either or both these ways, such Idolaters did make or confirm a Cove|nant with the Devil by sacrifice. As Gods people did make a Covenant with God, by sacrificing to him, *Psal.* 50 5. And did thereby shew their seeking help from the Devil, their invocation of him, and dependance upon him for some great things they supposed he could supply them with. So that here was one kind of charming or inchantment used to a falle God, which was condemned to death. *Exod.* 22.20, For by the using these abominable Ce|remonies, they did invocate the Devil to do them some great good. As the *Graecians* sacri|ficed *Agamemnons* Daughter to procure a Wind for their Navy, and having a fair Wind, after|wards imputed it unto their Sacrifice. And by that Law, *Lev.* 20.2, 3. *He that giveth any of his seed to* Moloch, *shall surely be put to death*. These Sacrificers in *Israel*, ought to dye.

Page 962. The second Sin foretold, *Deut* 18.10. is, That useth Divination. *Kosem Kesaamim* in Hebrew, from the verb *Kasam* to divine, which is in its derivatives sometimes used in a good sence. *Prov.* 16.10. *Isa.* 3.2. *Kos•m*, The pru|dent. But *Deut.* 18 10. used in an evil sence. And *Ezek.* 12.24. for a flattering divination; such was *Balaam*,

Josh. 13.22 *A soothsayer*, or diviner: the *Philistine Priests* 1 *Sam.* 6.2. *Ju|dahs* false Prophets, *Ezek* 13 6, 7, 23. *Jer* 14 14. *Ezek.* 22.28. *Micah* 3 6, 11. *Zech.* 10.2. *Jer.* 29.8. Though they prophecied in the Name of the Lord: but false & vain visions Applyed also to the *Babylonish* Priests, *Ezek.* 24. 21.23. and to their diviners, *Isa.* 44.25. And *Sauls* rebellion is compared to the sin of Witch|craft, 1 *Sam.* 15.23. Or of *Kosem*, that is divi|nation, which shews it was a great sin: whe|ther the divining were by, or in the Name of the true God, or a false God: And it was a prophecying of things to come true or false, or using means whereby they might fore-know future contingencies, and so be able to foretel them, as *Ezek.* 21.21, 23.

3. Is an observed of times. *Hebr. Megnonen.* Always used to shew a wicked practice, as 2 *Chron* 33.6. Tis one of the sins of *Manasseb*. Tis forbidden, *Lev.* 19 26. *Neither shall ye ob|serve times*. A sin of the *Philistines*, imitated by the wicked Jews, *Isa* 2.6. there translated *Sooth|sayers*: and from this, some of them are called, Page 97*Sons of the Sorceress, Isai.* 57.2. Of *Gnonenabi* A sin of the *Amonit es, Moabites*, and other heal|thens condemned, *Jer.* 27.3, 9, 10. translated *Enchanters*; when they prophecyed a lye to them; *saying, ye shall not serve the King of Baby|lon*. Some of the Hebrew Doctors derive the word from *Gnajin*, an eye, and interpret it of them that hold and abuse the eyes, so as to make men think, they see what is not really so. Some others derive it from *Gnanan*, a cloud, & hold it to be a kind of divining by the cloud•. And others from *Gnon*, time, who by their pre|tended skill foretel what times are good, or evil to attend any weighty business in. Such are called *Soothsayers, Micah* 5 12 *And observer of times, Deut.* 18.14. The Greek translation (which was before the birth of Christ) call him *Cledonizomenos*; a foreteller of things to come, or a fortune-teller.

4. Name is an *Enchanter. Menachesh* of the verb *Nichesh*, which is used in a lawful sence, *Gen.* 30.27. *I have learned by experience.* And of *Josephs* divining by his cup, *Gen* 44.5, 15. Which *Ainsworth* rendereth, *searching, search di|ligently* (that is) by this cup: Or (as it may be translated) make tryal of you; that is, whe|ther you are such men as you profess your selves to be. And indeed by this cup in *Ben|jamins* sack did *Joseph* try and search out his brethren, to prove what love they did bear to their father *Jacob* and brother *Benjamin*, which Page 98I understand to be the divining of *Joseph* there intended. But mostly the word is used to sig|nify some wicked practice: As for the enchant|ments of *Balaam, Numb.* 24.1. & 23.23. Of *Manasseh*, 2 *Chron.* 33.6. Of the ten tribes, 2 *King.* 17.17. And is condemned, *Lev.* 19 26.

5. Abomination is a *Witch. Mechasheph* Note this word is always used to set forth some wicked abomination, and the worker of it. The *Egyptian* forcerers are charged with it, *Exod.* 7.11. Who are called Sorcerers, or Wit|ches. *Mechashepim* And *Manasseh*, 2 *Chron.* 33 6. used *Witchcraft*: and the wise men of *Babylon*, that *Nebucadnezer* sent for to tell and interpret his dream, are called, *Dan.* 2.2. *Mechashepim Witches*, or as tis translated *Sorcerers*. Such also were the Prophets of the *Edomites* and heathen Nations, *Jer.* 27.9. called there *Sorcerers*. And the *Babylonians* are ◊ guilty of Witch|crafts, called *Sorcerys, Is*••7.9, 12. And *Nini|veh* is called a Mistress of Witchcrafts, *Nabum.* 3.4

And *Jezabel* is charged by *Jehu* with this wickedness, 2 *King* 9.22. And *Judah* also is charged with this abomination, *Micah* 5.12. Yea after their return from *Babylon, Mal.* 3.5. *Where the Lord threatens to be a swift witness a|gainst the Sorcerers*, or witches among them. The *Septuagint* Greek translation render this word, which is by us called in the Scripture *Witch* and *Sorcerer*, by the name *Pharmacos*, and their Witchcrafts and Sorcerys, they call *Phar|macа*Page 99and *Pharm•ceia*: and so these Greek names are in the New-Testament translated, (which very much follows this Greek transla|tion in quoting the Scriptures of the old Testa|ment) *Gal.* 5.20. *Witchcraft, Sorcerys, Rev.* 9.21. & 18.23. And *Sorcerers, Rev.* 21.8. & 22.15.

6. The sixth iniquity here condemned is, *A Charmer. Hebr. Chobe Chaber*; a Charmer of Charms: of *Chaber*, to joyn together in Society. Sometimes used for a lawful *Associating*; but in *Deuteronomy* & other places, for a wicked joyn|ling Society, as *Isa* 47.9, 12. translated *Enchant|ment: stand now to thine Enchantments, &c.* And *Psal.* 58.5. used to express the Charming of a Serpent. The Greek call such an one, *Epaiodan Epaioden*: the Charmer of a Charm.

7. The seventh word is, *A consulter with fa|miliar Spirits. Hebr.* its *Shoel Ob*, that asketh of *Ob*, the familiar Spirit; rendred by *Buxtorf, Pytho*, a sin forbidden, *Lev* 19.31. So that the regarding those that have familiar Spirits is prohibited, *Lev.* 19 31. & *Lev.* 20.27. The man or woman that hath *Ob*, that is, a familiar Spirit, shall be put to death. See *Lev.* 20 6 This was one of *Ma|nassehs* sins, 2 *Chron* 33 6. 2 *King.* 21.6. And for going to such a Woman the Lord killed *Saul*, 1 *Chron.* 10.13. See of these, *Isa.* 8 19. *&* 19.3 *&* 29.4. Such as these are com|monly joyned with Wizards, as in the Scriptures quoted. And such *Saul* cut off, 1 *Sam.* 28.3, 9. and yet after that sought to such an one to his Page 100own destruction, 1 *Sam* 28 7, *to* 21. namely to the Witch at *End•r*. The Greek translators in the Scriptures above quoted, call them, *Eg|gastrimuthai*: persons that speak in or from their bellies, because of old time as Histories menti|oned, those who prop•ecved or spake by inspi|ration of the Devil, or heathen Gods, spake as from their bellies, when they gave answers to the people from their heathen oracles. Which probably is pointed at, *Isa.* 8. 19 Where such are said to *peep and mutter*; and *Isa.* 29 4. *To speak out of the ground, and out of the dust.*

8 The Eighth name for these abominable persons is, A Wizard. Hebr. *Jiddegnoni*; of *Ja|dang to know*. But here notes such an art and way of knowing as is wicked, not allowed of by God, and therefore not proceeding from nature, or lawful art, or divine Revelation; therefore from Satan Such are condemned as worthy of death. *Lev* 20.27 And it was one of the Iniquities of *Manasseh*, 2 *Chron* 33.6. *He dealt with Wizards. Gnashah Jiddegnoni*; He prepared, obtained or made use of Wizards. This name is commonly joyned with the ha|lving familiar spirits; as, *Levit* 19 31 & 20.6, 27. 1 *Sam.* 28. 39 2 *King.* 9.21.6. & 23, 24. *Isa.* 8.19 & 19.3. So that it seems to be another name to signifie one that hath a famil|liar spirit, for his knowledge thereby, or at least to agree in the main with such.

9. Name is, A *Necromancer, Doresh El. Ham|methim*, Page 101a *Seeker to the Dead*. This was the sin of the Witch at *Endor* to seek unto dead *Sa|muel* to give counsel to living *Saul*, 1 *Sam.* 28. which is also condemned. *Isa.* 8.19 *Should a people seek for the living to the dead?* This opi|nion was among the Heathen, that the Dead might be raised, and give them advice. So *Pomphey* in his distress desired the Ghost of a dead Souldier might come to him, to give him counsel what to do. And by such means, the Devil counterfeiting himself, this or that dead person, often deceived them And by such kind of Apparitions, the Doctrine of Purgato|ry, and other Superstitions have been much rivetted among the vulgar with the Papists. By viewing the crimes condemned, *Deut.* 18.10, 11. as they are mentioned in other Scriptures, we shall find, they all speak of sins very like one to another, and some of them but divers names for the same crime. The Lord aim|ling in this place to condemn all those diaboli|cal Artists, by whatever names they were known among the *Israelites*, or *Canaanites*. For we shall find several of these names fixed upon the same person, as on *Manasseh*, 2 *Chron.* 33 6. Six of these names, or crimes are fastened upon him. And the Witch at *Endor* is mentioned, 1 *Sam.* 28. as one that was a *Necromancer*, a *Wizard*, and having a familiar spirit, and a Di|viner by it. See also, *Isa.* 47. 9 12, 13. *Jer.* 27.9. Hence then the way to understand the Page 102crimes pointed at in the prohibitions mention|ed in *Deut.* 18. is to examine what were the crimes those stand charged with in Scripture who are branded with any of these names.

I begin with the Sorcerers or Witches of Egypt, *Exod.* 7. These did imitate the real Miracles of *Moses*, in making frogs, and turn|ling his Staff into a Serpent, and water into blood: And this was done by these Sorcerers, either by some humane power, art and dexteri|ty, or by the assistance of the Gods of Egypt (mentioned, *Numb.* 33 4. 2 *Sam.* 7.23.) that is by the Devils aid. But they could not do these things by humane power, art, or dex|terity; therefore by the Egyptian Gods. *i. e.* the Devils. This will appear, if we consider what was the case between *Moses* and *Pharach*, and why *Pharoah* sent for his Sorcerers. *Moses* by the Lords commission said to *Pharoah, Exo.* 5.1. *And the Lord* (or Jehovah, for so it is in Hebrew) *the God of Israel saith, Let my people go, &c. Pharoah* answered, *Who is Jehovah that I should obey his voice*? As if he had said, I know not this Jehovah, I worship other Gods, even the Gods of *Egypt*. Now then *Moses* must prove Jehovah ought to be obeyed, and that must be by working a Miracle as a sign to *Pharoah*. This *Pharoah* asketh of *Moses*, and God promiseth that he will do for and by *Mo|ses, Exod.* 7.3, 5, 9. The case between *Pharaoh* and *Moses*, was somewhat like the case be|tween Page 103*Elijah* and *Baals* Prophets. 1 *King.* 18. *Whose God should be worshipped*? and this must be tryed by some sign, as here by frogs, lice, locusts, *&c.* So there by fire fetcht from Hea|ven to consume the Sacrifice; and in both cases, the Lord shews he is greater than all Gods, as *Jethro* acknowledged; *For in the thing wherein they dealt proudly, the Lord was above them*. In prosecution of this Commission, *Mo|ses* and *Aaron* turn their Rod into a Serpent, and the water of *Egypt* into blood, and bring frogs to cover the land of *Egypt*: Here were real Miracles, which prove that Jehovah ought to be obeyed. For that Message which is con|firmed by evident Miracles, comes from the God of Power and Truth, and therefore ought to be obeyed. *Pharoah* now will try if his Sorcerers cannot do as much as *Moses* and *Aa|ron*, that he may invalidate the Miracles of

Moses, and it's said, *they did in like manner, Exo.* 7.11, 12, 22. *&* 8.7. *Gnashashu Chen.* They did somewhat like to what *Aaron* had done. If it were by humane power and dexterity only, then it must be by bringing Serpents, Blood and Frogs under their garments, or the like, and by slight of hand, slipping them down before the company with such celerity, that the things first presented, might seem to be trans|formed into another nature. But that it was not so appears,

1. In that they could not be provided be|fore Page 104hand with Serpents, blood and frogs, to present before *Pharoah* at those times, because no humane art could tell them before-hand, what Miracles *Aaron* would work, to inable them to stock themselves with such provision before hand.

2. Had they so done by meer humane art, there had been no comparison between the act|ings of *Moses* and theirs; and so no argument to direct whose God was to be obeyed, whe|ther Jehovah, or the Gods of *Egypt*. For *Pha|roah* and his Courtiers, yea, and *Moses* also could easily discover such legerdemain, and indeed it would have rendred the Magicians ridiculous, and *Pharoah* for improving of them. For *Pharoah* was convicted that what *Aaron* did was a reality; *for* Aarons *rod devoured the Magicians rods, and the blood was so over all the land of Egypt, that the fish died, and the River stank, and the Egyptians wanted drink, and the frogs so covered the Land of Egypt, that* Pharoah *acknowledged they came by Jehovah. For he re|questeth* Moses *and* Aaron *to intreat Jehovah to take the frogs away*, Chap. 8.8.

3. If they had only brought Serpents, Frogs, *&c.* from other places, and thrown them down by jugling slight of hand; then when *Aaron* brought lice upon man and beast, they could have taken lice also, and scattered them about; for they tryed by their inchantments to bring forth lice, but could not: and yet lice Page 105were as easily, if not more easily obtained than frogs and serpents, and they were men still, and had their hands and feet to act with now as well as before: But now they are convinced and •onfess, This is the finger of God; that is of a greater God than any we worship and work by.

4. The Magicians brought frogs up upon the land of *Egypt. ver.* 7 which shews they produced frogs in more places than just where they stood and acted; and therefore did not act meerly by slight of hand.

Hence we may conclude, that the Serpents, Blood, and Frogs the Magicians shewed, were effects above mans power, and not by Jeho|vah, therefore by the Devil, the God of *Egypt*. Whether the Devil did only delude the sight, and bewitch the eyes of *Pharoah*, and the *Egyp|tians*, or make real frogs and serpents out of the putrid matter in *Egypt*, or make aerial bo|dies like them, or that it was the Devils assu|ming such like shapes, I determine not: But we may observe, that here the Devil, and his Magicians went very far, and farther than at other times; for now *Moses* is at hand to over|come their delusions by the power of Jehovah, and to convince beholders, that there is no God of the Heathen, can work like the God of *Israel*. Yet for a time the true Miracles of *Moses*, and the

seeming ones of the Magicians seem to be pretty much alike. For it's said, Page 106*they cast down every man his rod, and they be|came Serpents*. It is not said, & they shuffled in Serpents instead of their rods, but their rods were serpents, at least in outward appearance. These effects then so like to *Moses* zeal Mira|cles, might move the Magicians to try a fourth time if they could not by their inchantments produce lice, but here their power failed. And the true reason was, their God was in chains, and the Lord bound him that he should pro|ceed no further to delude men by his pretend|led miraculous power.

2. *I Enquire what was the Crime of the Woman at* Endor, *that had a familiar spirit*? 1 *Sam.* 28.7, *&c.*

A. She was such an one as *Saul* had cut off as being a Wizard, and having a familiar spi|rit. *ver.* 3. *&* 9. In hebrew they are called, *Eth Haobeth*; that is, those that have *Ob.* and *ver.* 7. *Esheth bagnalath Ob.* A woman that is mistress of *Ob.* that is rendred one that is Mi|stress of *Pytho*, a Prophecying Spirit. *Eng|gastrimuthos* as above declared; one that speaks as from her belly by help of the Devil.

Q. *What then was this* Pytho, *or* Ob?

A. It was a divining spirit; to divine by the Devil. Whence the possessed Damosel, *Acts* 16.16. is said to have the spirit of *Pytho*, which was the Devil that possessed her, by whom she did *Soothsay*. The Jewish Rabbi, *Aben Esra* saith, they were called *Ob*, because Page 107from a belly swelled like a bottle, they gave out their Oracles. And *Oboth* is translated bottles, *Job* 32.19. *Ainsworth* on *Deut.* 18.11. saith, such Magicians are so called, because they speak with an hollow voice as out of a bottle.

This Woman at *Ender* was then one that only plaid tricks with a bottle, or one that was mistress of *Ob* the Devil as her familiar spirit to wait upon her; not the former, there|fore the latter. For (1.) By this her Spirit, she offers to bring up to *Saul* whom he desired. *v.* 11. (2.) She brings up the supposed *Samuel*, (*i. e.* as I conceive, the Devil in *Samuels* like|ness) That doth so much resemble *Samuel* for his Age, Complexion, Mantle and Voice, that *Saul* takes him to be real *Samuel*: And makes answer to him as if he were the real *Samuel. ver.* 15. And receives a sad message fr• him, as if it had been spoken by *Samuel* himself *ver.* 16, 17, 18, 19. So that this Woman was a Necromancer in raising up dead *Samuel*, or the Devil in his likeness. Some indeed do plead that this woman only plaid tricks with a bottle, and a cunning knave assisting of her, counterfeited the voice of *Samuel*, and deceiv|led *Saul* thereby. And they plead that *Oboth* is in one place translated bottles, *viz. Job* 32.19. Whether truly or not, I now stay not to discuss; but if it were truly translated so here, yet in fourteen other places, *Ob.* and *Oboth* is Page 108translated a familiar spirit, or spirits; and we are to compare this in 1 *Sam.* 28. with those many Scriptures where it's rendred so as re|ferring to an Evil Spirit.

But say they *Manasseh*, 2 *Chron.* 33.6• dealt with a familiar spirit: hebrew, 'tis *Gnashah Ob.* which they would render he made *Ob.* Now say they he could not make a familiar spirit, although he might a bottle.

To which I answer.

1. The verb *Gnashah*, signifies to get, obtain, or set up (as the *Dutch* translate it) so that here is nothing in this place to make for their turn; for though he could not make a famili|ar spirit, yet he could obtain, or set up a fa|miliar spirit.

2 *Manasseh* his sin in this was like his Sacri|ficing his Children through the fire, which was certainly a kind of invocation of a false God, *i. e.* the Devil; and the description of his apostasy, *v.* 3 *to* 8. shews that he was turned from the true God to the Gods of the heathen, to wor|ship, and invocate them, and why not to have a spirit to obtain answers by, called *Ob*? But that this Witch at *Endor* did more than play tricks with a bottle, appeareth. (1) Because her sin was a capital crime, and they that sought to such persons were cursed of God, *Lev.* 19 31. *&* 20 6, 27. *Isa.* 8.19. And it cannot be ap|prehended that she and others would hazzard their lives meerly to play tricks with a bottle, Page 109or that the people heathens and *Israelites* should be so exceedingly addicted to follow such, as to need such severe prohibitions, and punishments therefore. (2.) *Saul* had put many such to death for having *Ob*: And its not likely this woman after this would keep such a bottle to play with to the hazard of her life. (3) *Saul* and his Courtiers that had cut off so many of them, must necessarily know what the crime was, they were put to death for. (4) *Saul* fought not for one that could play tricks with a bottle; but for one that by the help of her familiar could raise *Samuel* (or a Spirit in his likeness) which was agreeable to a corrupt o|pinion among them, that they might seek help from the dead: forbidden *Isa.* 8.19. *Should a people seek for the living to the dead*, i. e. *to the Souls of the Dead*. (5.) If she had only playd tricks with a bottle, how could she or any other personate *Samuel*, as he did speaking to *Saul, v.* 15, 16, 17, 18, 19? If it be said, she had a man, a knave, to come in such a garb to perso|nate the voice & mantle of *Samuel*: Then I ask, how in the night time this woman without notice given could have a counterfeiting knave and mantle in such a readiness? For *Saul* came to her in the night, & without warning, *v* 8, 9. (6) A meer juggling knave or quean could not prophecy the victory of the *Philistians*, the death of *Saul* and his Sons, *Jonathan* and the rest, as the supposed *Samuel* did. But Satan Page 110might so know and prophesy (as I may farther shew hereafter.) For *Saul* dyed for this very sin, in going to ask counsel of one that had a fa|miliar Spirit, to enquire of it, 1 *Chron.* 10.13, 14. And this the Lord might discover to Satan for the punishment of *Saul*, as he did the death of *Ahab* unto Satan, upon a like account. As *Micaiah* was shewed in a vision, 1 *King.* 22.19, *to* 23.

3. I enquire, *What was the professun & practice of the* Babylonian *Sorcerers mentioned, Isa.* 47.9, 12, 13, 14 *Ezek.* 21.21. *Dan.* 2.2.

A. 1. They were like the Sorcerers of *E|gypt*, for they have the same general names of Sorcerers and wise men.

2. They were *Chotsim bacochabim*; that is, Prophets by the Stars: (translated *Stargazers*) for *Chotsab* is used to signify a Prophet, or Seer. *Isa.* 30.10. 2 *Sam.* 24 11. 1 *Chorn.* 21 9, *&* 25.5. 2 *Chron* 9 29 *&* 12.15. *&* 19.2. *&* 29.25. *&* 35.15. *Amos* 7.12 Here are ten times or places where this word is used to signify a Pro|phet; which give light unto this place, to shew that these Stargazers did prophesy by the Stars. And it cannot be understood of any foretelling by them, of signs, seasons days & years, which God ordained them for, *Gen.* 1.14. For that is a knowledge lawful and commendable, and at|tainable by lawful art & study: but what the Prophet chargeth them with here was unlawful, and therefore such a kind of prophecying, as Page 111proceeded from a false God, that is the Devil.

3. They are called *Monthly Prognosticaters. Modignim lechadashim*, knowers by the months; *Modignim* proceeds from the same *Radix* with *Jiddegnoni*, a *Wizard*, and hath some affinity with it here. These then were a sort of fore|tellers of things to come, by the Months or Moon.

4. Add to this, that *v.* 9. & 12. they are charged with the guilt of Sorcerys or Witch|crafts, and Inchantments, which shews what kind of Prophets they were.

2. They used Witchcraft in a way of opera|tion, whereby they endeavoured to deliver their Country from the evils coming on them. This appeareth, (1.) By the challenge *Isaiah* makes to them, *v.* 12. *Stand now to thine inchant|ments*, &c. *if so be thou shalt be able to profit, if so be thou mayest prevail. q. d.* They hoped to put off the mischief and desolation that was to come upon them, by their Witchcrafts, *&c.* (2.) He tells them, *their Astrologers* &c. *should not save them from the things coming on them; but should be as stubble and the fire should burn them &c. v.* 13, 14, 15. Which intimates, that these Astrologers *&c.* did strive and endeavour it with hopes to pre•ail; but the Lord would o|vetrule and disappoint their endeavours.

3. Compare this with *Ezek* 21.21. Where their diviners used divinations to know secret futurities, *viz.* Whether they should go to *Je|rusalem*Page 112and prosper, or to *P•ath* and pros|per. That this was a diabolical •nation may be seen, if we consider. (1.) The thing they sought for was a future contingent event to man unknown. (2.) The means they use to discover this secret were, by Images or *Teraph•* (which were the Devils oracles,) and by ar|rowes, and by looking into the liver, for signs of direction to know which of these places they should first go to, & whether they should pro•|per in their way. And these means had no vertue in them to make any such discovery. (3.) Therefore they did by these rites and cere|monies invocate their gods to reveal these things to them. The Lord indeed did unknown to them over-rule the divination so that accor|ding to their Superstitious imaginations they were inclined to go against *Jerusalem*, and God made it to prosper; not thereby approving, or excusing their invocating false Gods: but that thereby he might use them, as the rod of his wrath against the people of his wrath. (4.)

By comparing these two Scriptures above, we may see of what stamp the wise men of *Babylon* were, who were sent for by *Nebuchadnezar*, to tell and interpret his dream, *Dan.* 2.2. And to interpret his other dream *Dan.* 4.6, 7. And by *Belshazzer*, to read the hand writing and in|terpret it, *Dan* 5.7. *viz.* Men that had pecul|iar intimacy with, and special aid from their false Gods, as the Sorcerers and diviners menti|oned, Page 113*Isa.* 47. *&* *Ezek* 21. For (1.) They have the same name, *Michashpim* Sorcerers and Witches: and *Chartummim*, one of the names of the Sorcerers of *Egypt, Exod.* 7.11. (2) This was agreeable to the end those Kings sent for them, *viz* to discover secrets which other men could not. And they confidently profess a skill to interpret the Dream, if they may know what it is. *Dan.* 2 6. Which seems to hold forth that they depended upon a power super|humane, to discover to them the interpretati|on of Dreams; yet they confess they cannot reveal the dream it self. And good reason, for the Gods they served knew it not. Yet they say the Gods whose dwelling is not with flesh, could reveal it. Which shews they acknow|ledge a Divine Power that knew the greatest secrets, who is indeed the true God unknown to them. And when *Daniel* had revealed the Dream and its interpretation. *Dan.* 2. And af|terwards interpreted another dream. *Dan.* 4. He is acknowledged to excel all the Wise men of *Babylon* in that, *in him was the spirit of the Holy Gods. Dan.* 4.8. *&* 5.11. That is, the spirit of a God above their Gods; a God that was as *Nebuchadnezzar* confesseth, *Dan.* 2.47. *A God of Gods, and a Revealer of secrets.* The High God. *Dan* 4.2. Yet this hinders not but that the Magicians, *&c.* had more of the spirit of their Gods, than others had, though not equal to *Daniel*.

Page 114Q. 2. *What was the sin of the Sorcerers*, &c *of* Edom *and other Nations, for which* Jeremiah *warns them not to bearken to them? Jer.* 27.3, 9.

A. It was a prophecying a lye unto them, in the name of their false Gods, saying to them, ye shall not serve the King of *Babylon*, which was the way to destroy them, *ver* 10, 11. I say, in the name of false Gods: For they at|tended to dream• (not to your dreamers) as a way of Revelation whereby they were perswa|ded so to prophesy. Dreams are either, (1.) Natural, as *Eccles.* 5.3 7. *Isa.* 29.8. *Job.* 7.14. (2) Or Divine, as the dreams of *Nebuchadnez|zar, Daniel, Joseph &c* Or (3) Diabolical, *Deut.* 13 1, 2 *Z•ch.* 10 2. *The Diviners have told false dreams*. But the dreams of the Sorcerers. *Jer.* 27.9. were not Divine, nor Natural; therefore Diabolical, and so from a false God. Here note, that Divining or Prophecying by diabolical and false dreams, is one way of Sorcery and Witchcraft: And that these false Prophets are Sorce•ers, in undertaking to re|ve•l things to come, by a false God, though what they reveal do not come to pass. They no doubt sought to their God for help in this matter, and went as far as they could. So I conceive all *Baals* four hundred and fifty Pro|phets, 1 *King.* 18.26. were Sorcerers, in seek|ing with all earnestness to *Baal* to bring down fire from heaven (though they could not per|form it) for they did all they could to ob|lige Page 115the Devil to help them; but their God wanted power, and so the wonder was not wrought at that time. These Prophets of *Baal* deserved therefore to dye by the Law. *Exod.* 22.18. and by the Law. *Deut.* 18 20. The Prophet that shall speak in the name of other Gods, even that Prophet shall dy. As also by the Law. *Exod* 22.20. *He that sacrifi|ceth to any God, save unto the Lord only, be shall*

be utterly destroyed: For those sacrificed to *Baal*. But if any would thence conclude, that all the Heathen Sacrificing Priests should be put to death I say, it follows not, for the Heathen among the Heathen know no better. But these did it in *Israel*, where they had the means to know the true God, and professedly endeavoured to draw men from the Lord unto *Baal*.

Q 3. *What was the sin of the Prophets in* Judah, *who are called dreamers*, Jer. 29 8.9. *and said to use divination*, Jer. 14.14. Ezek. 13.6, 7, 9.23. *and in other Scriptures*?

A. They are not called, *Mechashepim, Witches*, as the false Prophets of the Heathen; yet they were very like them. As (1.) Both sorts used wicked divinations. (2) As *Jannes* and *Jambres* withstood *Moses*; so these withstood the counsel of God spoken by *Jeremiah, Jer.* 27.3. *to* 11. *&* 29 8.9. (3.) The divinations of both sorts of Prophets were false, as to the matter of them; they divined a lye. *Jer.*Page 116 27.10. *with* 29.8, 9. *Ezek.* 13.6, 7. (4.) As the Heathen diviners were guided by dreamers, which came from a lying spirit. *Jer.* 27.9 Nor to the dreamers of dreams, *&c.* so these hearkened to false dreams which they dreamed, *Jer.* 29 8. which came by Inspiration or instigation of Satan. Yet they differed in this; Those prophesied in the name of a false God, but these prophesied a lye in the name of the true God. So that these deserved to dye by the Law. *Deut.* 18.20. *But the Prophet which shall presume to speak a word in my name, which I have not commanded him to speak, even that Prophet shall dye.*

Q 4 *What were the Witchcrafts Jehu charged Jezebel with?* 2 King 9 22.

A. 1. Either they were some practices of Witchcraft she used, not expresly mentioned in Scripture; or they were her protecting and providing for, and maintaining of *Baals* Prophets who were Witches, and her making their cause her own; as see, 1 *Kings* 16.31. *&* 18. 19 *&* 19 1, 2. She seems to be guilty of both. 1 *King.* 21.25 26. She made the Prophets of *Baal*'s Sin her own. As *David* is said to slay *Uriah*, when he did it not in his own person; but contrived how it should be done by others. And we may note that one reason why the false Prophetess in *Thyaetira* is called *Jezabel*, is, because *she called her self a Prophetess, and taught the people to eat things sacrificed to Idols*; which Page 117 was thereby to commit Idolatry. So that *Ahabs Jezebel* might be one of the Devils Prophetesses among the *Israelites*, and so be guilty of Witchcrafts that way; as a teacher of Idolatrous worshipping *Baal*. And we may note that the false Gods had their female Prophetesses and Diviners as well as Males, as we see the Witch at *Endor*.

CHAPTER. XIV.

HAving spoken of the Scripture use of those evils condemned, *Deut.* 18.10, 11. And of the persons charged with those abominations, we may hence see who those Witches, Sorcerers, Diviners *&c.* among the Heathen were, *viz* they were a sort of Priests and Prophets of the Heathen Gods, who had a more special dedication and approaches to

them, than the ordinalry sort of Heathen had, whereby they obtained or at least endeavoured to obtain special help from those Gods, who were indeed the Devils.

1. *Note*, they were reckoned among the Priests & Prophets of those Idol Gods, as 1 *Sam.* 6.2. The *Philistans* called for their Priests and diviners. And *Jer.* 27.9, 10. they are com|manded *not to hearken to their Prophets, nor Di|viners, nor Enchanters, nor Sorcerers or Witches*. So when *Josiah* put away the Priests of the false Gods, he together with them put away them that had familiar Spirits, Wizards, Teraphim Page 118and Idols, 2 *King.* 23.5, 10, 24. And when the ten Tribes are condemned for their heathenish Idolatries, & Sacrificing their Children through the fire; their divinations and enchantments are reckoned with these abominations, 2 *King.* 17.10, 11, 12, 16, 17. And the false Prophets of the *Jews* in *Chaldea*, though they prophecyed by the true God, yet prophecying falsely, are called *Diviners, Jer.* 29.8, 9. Though they pre|tended a Warrant from Jehovah, because of their likeness to the heathen Prophets and di|viners. So *Zech.* 10.2. *Mich.* 3.5, 6, 7. Those Prophets are called Diviners.

2. Hence as Gods people were to have re|course to the Lords Priests and Prophets, to seek and know the mind of God, and to obtain help from him by them, 2 *Chron.* 20.20. *Mal.* 2.7. 1 *King.* 22.7. So the Devil had his Priests and prophets by whom the people did enquire, & to whom they came in difficult cases, as to the God of *Ekron*, 2 *King.* 1.2. So *Pharaoh, Ne|buchadnezer, Belshazer &c.* Send for their wise|men and Sorcerers to consult with and help in their great cases; as the Servants of the Lord sent to their wise men, the Priests & Prophets of the most High God, to consult with & help in their difficult cases. *Note*, All the Heathens were worshippers of the Devil, 1 *Cor.* 10.20. Yet all were not Sorcerers, diviners, soothsay|ers, *&c.* but some peculiar ones. So *Balaam* a|mong the *Midianites*, was a Soothsayer or divi|ner, Page 119and a Prophet, *Josh.* 13.22. *with* 2 *Pet.* 2.2. *Baal* had his prophets four hundred & fifty, 1 *King.* 12.22. And the Prophets of *Egypt, Isa.* 19.3. are called *Charmers, Wizards &c.* to whom they sought. As among Gods worshippers all are not Prophets, 1 *Cor.* 12.29.

3. As the gifts and attainments of the Lords Prophets were differing, and so their operati|ons, as 1 *Cor.* 12.4, 5, 6. So Satan, who is the god of this world, doth act like the most high, in distributing his gifts, *&c.* to his devoted Ser|vants. As had *Moses* and *Aaron*, the gifts of mi|racles, so Satan had the magicians of *Egypt* that shall come by counterfeit or seeming miracles, as near or like to Gods Prophets as he can. Hath the Lord his Prophets to prophesy of things to come? So Satan hath in some degree like them, who shall give a sign or a wonder that some times shall come to pass, *Deut.* 13.1, 2, 3. Did the Lord reveal himself to some of his Servants by dreams? So Satan reveals himself to some of his prophets by dreams at some times, as *Deut.* 13.1. *If there arise a prophet or a dreamer of dreames.* So the Sorcerers of the Heathen, *Jer.* 27.9. had their dreams or dreamers. Did the Lord give to some the gift of interpretating dreams, as to *Joseph* and *Da|niel*? So Satan had his officers that pretended at least a skill to interpret dreams, as *Dan* 2.7. Did the Lord call *Abraham* and his Priest to Sa|crifice his Son *Isaac, Gen.* 22 2. So Satan had Page 120his Priests by whom the Heathen, did Sacrifice their

Sons and Daughters to him; and cause them to pass through the fire, *&c. Lev.* 18.21. *Psal.* 106 35, 36, 37, 38 And this may be the reason why causing Children to pass through the fire is so often in Scripture mentioned with Witches and Witchcraft. Because this was one abominable way whereby the Sorcerers Sacrilficed, to their Devil gods, to implore their help. And as the Lord did more freely & familiarly reveal himself and his counsel to some more than others: As to *Moses, Exod* 33.11. *To whom the Lord spake face to face, as a man speaketh to his friend*. So Satan had some of these his delvoted Servants, to whom he was more open & familiar in converse. And such were those that had a familiar Spirit to appear at their call: as the woman at *Endor*, by her familiar Spirit divining, brings up the counterfeit *Samuel*. And as the people did seek unto *Moses*, & such Prophets of the Lord as had more especial aclquaintance with the Lord. So the heathen did seek unto those that had these familiar Spirits, as persons that had more especial intimacy with their gods than themselves had. Hereupon the Lord strictly forbids the *Israelites* seeking unto such, *Lev.* 19.31. *&* 20.6. *Isa.* 8.19.

And from this intimacy between the Magilcians and their god, and Satan their god, being as it were, at their call or beck; she that had a familiar Spirit is called *Bagnalath Ob*, 1 *Sam.*Page 121 28.7 rendred, that hath a familiar Spirit, but it signifies a mistress of *Ob*: The spirit being subservient to the Witch, as if she were his mistress.

And hereupon it is that Writers speak of Witches being in Covenant with Satan, explicit or implicit; because Satan is so ready to act at the call of a Witch: as to make or bring frogs real or seeming, and other things at the Magilcians of *Egypts* endeavour, and to bring up Gods *Elohim, i. e.* Spirits invisible, likeness or shapes out of the earth, at the call of the Witch at *Endor*.

But some have denyed all such famaliarity with the Devil, because say they, *The Devil beling a Spirit there cannot be such commerce or intilmacy between Men & Spirits, as amounts to a Colvenant engagement between them?*

To which I answer, there may be a covelnant engagement between Men & Spirits. For,

1. There may be a Covenant between God and man: All *Israel* was in Covenant with God, *Deut.* 29.12, *&c. That thou shouldest enter into Covenant with the Lord thy God.* And all Gods people did make a Covenant with God by Sacrifice, *Psal.* 50.5. And before *Moses* & *Aaron* wrought their Miracles before *Pharaoh*, they were not only in covenant with God, but God had especially covenanted with, or prolmised to them, that upon their doing as he comlmanded and directed them, these miraculous Page 122 effects should follow, *Exod* 7.10. *&c.* Why then may not men be in covenant with Satan who is but a finite Spirit? And as an effect & token of it come after the working of Satan, *with all power and signs and lying wonders*, 2 *Thes.* 2.9.

2. The Lord forbids his people making a Covenant with the Heathen Gods, *Exod.* 23.32. *Thou shalt make no covenant with them, nor with their Gods*, that is, with the Devils,

Deut. 32.17. It there had been no danger of *Israels* making such Covenants, they would not have had such a prohibition.

3. Satan discoursing with the Man Christ Jesus, *Math.* 4 8, 9. Offers to make a bargain or covenant with Him, wherein he promiseth, *Quid pro Quo* Satan offers on his part to give *all the kingdoms of the World, and the Glory of them*; and the condition he proposeth on Christs part, is, *That Christ shall fall down and worship him*. Had our blessed Saviour agreed to these propositions there had been a bargain: but that was not possible, for when the Prince of this world came to our Saviour, he found nothing in him; that is, no matter for his temptations to work upon, *Joh.* 14.30. But alas, how many wicked men and woman are there in the world, that would accept of such bargains? Some have been so set upon obtainling their desired ends, that to have their wills, they will do as he said in the Poet.

Page 123*Flectere si nequ•o superos Acberonta movebo*.

If I cannot obtain my wish and will from God, I will to Hell to fetch it thence. And if persons are prepared for it, and Satan sees it his interest, he will offer conference with them, as he did with *Eve, Gen.*; And readily promise them all the world can afford them according to their hearts desire, to the uttermost of his power, and make no scruple of lying, and if mankind believes him, Satan profers some con|dition to be performed on mans part, as he did to Christ; *If thou wilt worship me*. And when mankind believes & accepts the seeming good desired and offered, upon performance of the conditions required, here's a Covenant explicit or implicit. But say some, what ever Satan is said to do or reveal by a Witch, cannot he do the same things without a Witch?

A. 1. Satan hath done great things without Witches, as in the afflicting *Job*, and the pos|sessed, as abovesaid.

2. Yet Satan doth also do and discover things by magicians, *&c.* as in the cases of the *Egyptian* Sorcerers, and woman at *Endor*, above expressed. And this may proceed, (1) Partly from the righteous Judgment of God, giving Satan both permission and commission at such times, to do great things in punishment to those that seek unto him in that way. As when *A|hab* goes to the Prophets that were not the Pro|phets of Jehovah or the Lord, 1 *King.* 22.7. Page 124but of the Devil, to enquire, whether he shall go to *Ramoth-Gilead*: The Lord gives the De|vil a commission to deceive *Ahab*, who by go|ing to these Prophet went to the Devil, 1 *King.* 22.20, 21, 22, 23. *Who will perswade Ahab? And a Spirit said, I will perswade him, — I will be a lying Spirit in the mouth of his Prophets.* Now hear Satans commission: *Thou shalt perswade him and prevail also: go forth & do so*. (2) Satan may in pollicy do many things (the Lord per|mitting) at the devotion of his Votarys, which he will not do at other times if he could, be|cause hereby he carrys on his design of destroy|ing Souls; both of his Votarys, and of them that go unto them. For there be many that have so much natural Conscience in them, and so much aversation from the Devil, and horror at his presence, that they will not seek

immedi|lately to the Devil, who yet will be drawn to seek unto Wizards, and such as have familiar Spirits, and so fall into the Snare of the Devil, to the ruine of their Souls.

We know Satan is called the God of this World, and by imitating the Lords methods in shewing mercy to man, he seemed to the Hea|then to be like the Most High: As *Lucifer* said, *Isa.* 14.12, 14. Had the Lord his Ark, Temple, *&c.* where to give answers to his people? So Satan had his Temples and Ora|cles, and Priests, whereby to give answers to his Worshippers, as at *Ekron*, at *Delphos*, and Page 125elsewhere; see *Acts* 14 13. Did the Lord re|quire faith in them that came to him? So Sa|tan requires especial faith in them that seek to him for help. Doth the Lord hearken to the voice of a man in working wonders? *Josh.* 10.14. So Satan will hearken to the voice of his Magicians, *&c.* Doth the Lord require parti|cular actions to be done by his Servants, when they work wonders in his Name? As *Aaron* must cast down his rod at one time, smite the rock with it at another time, speak to the rock at another time. *Elijah* prays at one time on his face between his knees, at another time o|therwise, 1 *King.* 18.42. So Satan had his va|rious ceremonies, words and actions to be ob|served by those that obtained special help from him. As Charmings, Mutterings, Peepings, speaking low, *&c. Isa.* 8.19 *&* 29.4 And divers Sacrifices made to him, whereby he was honoured by the Heathen as a God. *Deut.* 32.17. And Satan being thus served by them, did also some things for them, and that not only in way of operation, as for the *Egyptian* Ma|gicians; but also to some he did reveal truly some future events; as appeareth by the war|ning given, *Deut.* 13.1, 2, 3. where it's shew|led that a Prophet in the name, and by the help of a false God, may foretel a Sign that shall come to pass.

And doubtless *Belzebub* did it at *Ekron* some|times foretel truly future evens, or else *Ahaziah*Page 126would not have sent to him to know whether he should recover at that time or not. But the essence of their being a Witch or Sorcere• did not consist in their obtaining the desired assistance from their God; but rather in their putting themselves into that way of endeavou|ring to get help of their Gods. For the Astro|logers, *&c* of *Babylon* are called Sorcerers or Witches. *Isa.* 47.12. Though by their Inchant|ments and Sorceries they could not profit themselves. And the Prophets of *Edom*, and other heathens, *Jer.* 27.3, 9. are called Sorcer|lers for prophecying by Satan, though they pro|phecyed falsely. And so I conceive the Four hundred and fifty Prophets of *Baal*, did all use Sorcery or Inchantments in their invocati|on of *Baal*, and using actions they esteemed acceptable to him, that they might procure by him fire from Heaven to consume their Sacri|fice, although they could not obtain it. 1 *King.* 18.22. *to* 30. And so justly deserved death by the Law. *Exod.* 22.18. and by the Law. *Exod.* 22 20. For Sacrificing to a false God.

Thus we see who were the Witches among the Heathen: We may then query, *Who were the Witches among the Israelites that were to be put to death?*

A. 1. Those that having the knowledge of the true God, or at least the means whereby they might know him, did so far forsake the true God, as to sue unto, and depend upon

the Page 127Devil, or another God, as the Heathen Priests and Prophets that were Sorcerers did. As by having a familiar spirit as the Witch at *Endor* had; or by using Witchcrafts as *Manasseb* did. These as Apostates from God, and Votaries of the Devil, were to dye by the Laws *Exod.* 22.18, 20. As is said of *Boals* Prophets. And such if they prophecyed in the name of those false Gods (whether the Prophesie were true or false,) were to dye by the Law. *Deut.* 18.20. The Prophet that shall presume to speak in the name of other Gods, that Prophet shall dye.

2. Those persons who did prophecy a falselhood in the name of the Lord; or prophecy in his name when he sent them not, are called Diviners, though they pretended to speak (not in the name of false Gods, but) in the name of the true God; as, *Jer.* 28.8, 9. *Mich.* 3.7. Though they are not indeed called Witches or Sorcerers, but Diviners, which note a crime near to the former. Because they were so like unto the Diviners of the Heathen in prophelcying falsly, and were alike capital offenders by that Law. *Deut.* 18.20, 22. The Prophet which shall presume to speak a word in my name, which I have not commanded him to speak, shall dye, *&c.* So that although they are not called Witches, but Diviners, yet they were to dye by the Law, as well as the other.

Here then we may observe, who is to be, esteemed a Capital Witch among Christians Page 128*viz.* those that being brought up under the means of the knowledge of the true God, yet being in their right mind, or free use of their reason, do knowingly & willingly depart from the true God, so as to devote themselves unto, and seek for their help from another God, or the Devil, as did the Devils Priests, and Prolphets of old that were Magicians.

The end of such devoting to another God is for some supposed benefit. As, 1. To get help from him; So *Abaz* seems to be a Witch or Sorcerer, in that he sacrificed to the Gods of *Syria*, that he might obtain help by them. 2 *Chron.* 28.3, 23. His burning his Children in the fire, after the Heathen abomination, is allso a sin reckoned with Witchcraft; see, *Deutr.* 18.11. He was if not a Witch in sacrificing himself, yet at least one that did seek after Wizards and the like, to Sacrifice for him.

2. Another end in seeking help, is thereby to do strange things, as did the *Egyptian* Sorlce•ers as above-shewed. And such a Sorcerer the beast, *Rev.* 13.13, 14. prophecyed of, seems to be, for he maketh fire to come down from Heaven, on the Earth in the sight of men. And this was the work of Satan upon *Jobs* Sheep and Servants, *Job* 1.16.

3. Another end is for the discovery of Selcrets; as above shewed, from *Deut.* 13.1, 2, 3. *&* 1 *Sam* 28.

4. Another end is to prevent or remove Page 129some evil felt, or feared; as the Sorcerers of *Babylon*, that by their Sorceries sought to prelvent, or save them from the evils coming upon them. And though they did not obtain the help aimed at from their Gods, yet they are stiled Sorcerers, *Isa.* 47.12, 13, 14. *&* 44 25.

2. I say, brought up under the means of the knowledge of the true God; for though ma|ny Witches were among the Heathen Nati|ons, yet they were not to be put to death, be|cause they knew not the true God, they knew no better. But as for thee, saith God, *The Lord thy God hath not suffered thee so to do; and there shall not be found among you an Enchanter, Witch*, &c. *Deut.* 18.9, 10, 14. And there|fore the Lord made this Law, as an hedge to keep his people from going away from him to Devils, *to Gods whom they knew not, and whom their fathers feared not, Deut.* 32.16, 17. And so this Law hath some affinity with that capi|tal Law, the next verse, *but one step, Exod* 22. •0. *He that Sacrificeth to any God, save unto Je|hovah only, shall be put to death.* So that *Daniel* did well in seeking to save the *Babylonian* Wise men, though Witches, *Dan.* 2.14 *&c.* For they fell not under the Law. *Exod.* 22.18. But be|ing ignorant of the true God, needed to live and be instructed, that thereby they might be made sensible of their evil practices, and turn •nto the living God.

3. The object sought unto is the D•e woun•Page 130another God. Some of the Heathen did not seek to the Devil, as a Devil, that is, as a ma|licious, wicked, and unclean spirit: but as to their God whom they thought ought to be Worshipped by them. And some of the *Israelites* had an opinion of many Gods, as *Ahaz*, 2 *Chr.* 28.23. *Manasseh* and *Amaziah, Chap* 25.14. *&* 33 3, 4, 6. And so sacrificed to the Heal|then Gods, as well as to their own. And this was very abominable to the Lord to be ranked thus with Idols and Devils, *Isa.* 42.8. *Jehovah will not give his Glory to another*.

4. The person I say, that hath the free use of their reason; hereby are exempted from the guilt of this crime, persons possessed or obses|sed of the Devil, who did by the power of Satan, strange things, as breaking chains, and Lunatick persons, upon whom the Devil took advantage by reason of their Lunacy.

5. They devote themselves to Satan, or their other God, and to seek to him; which was done divers ways; as by enchantments, char|mings, peepings, muttering, sacrificing, cutting themselves, prayers, *&c.* And though of later times Satan as a cunning Fisher changeth his baits, yet still all that seek to him, as his pecu|liar Votaries, have their Ceremonies, Ordinan|ces by which Satan is invocated and worship|ped. Here we must distinguish between those that not •and seek to Satan immediately, and … •at seek to him by the mediation of a Page 131Wizard, *&c.* as *Saul* by the Witch at *End•r*. The former sort only are called Witches, or dealers with familiar spirits: But the latter is a great sin prohibited and condemned, *Lev.* 19. 31. *&* 20.6. & elsewhere.

6. I say; do knowingly and willingly seek, *&c.* And here I excuse a *tanto*, though not a *toto*, those that ignorantly use charms, spells, writings or forms of words, *&c.* being taught them by others, which are a kind of Witch|craft; but those that use them are not sensible, that they are but various ceremonies to invocate the Devil, and that the effects following these charms, *&c.* are done by the Devil. So some have pulled fish bones out of a wound, cured tooth ach, agues, warts, and stopped blood by such devillish means.

Such have an implicit faith that the means used, shall produce the effect desired, but consider not how; and so are beguiled by the Serpent that lies in the grass unseen.

I knew a man in the *East*, who professed the art of curing wounds, and stenching blood by a form of words. I discoursed him about it, and he told me, he had been in the practice of it; and believed it to be the gift of healing given him from God, upon the use of some Scripture words be used, as he had been taught by an Old woman, and had tried it upon him|self; having cut his leg almost half through with an Adds, and only bound up the wound Page 132with a cloth, and said over the wound those words, and without other means the wound was cured in a few days. I desired to hear the words, and he related them to me; and I found him almost as ignorant in Scriptures, as an Heathen, and found he could not read. Whereupon I informed him that part of his words were Scripture, and part not; and that those words upon which the greatest stress was laid in order to the cure, were a perverse addition to the Scriptures: a meer fiction of mans invention; and declared to him, that if any such healing followed upon such a form of words, it could not come from the efficacy of the words themselves, or from a divine concurrence working a wonder, because of those words, which were indeed a lye in the additions made; therefore if any vertue were in them, it came by the Devil, and so those words a kind of Sorcery. The man hereby seemed convinced of his error, and promised reformation. I do not believe this man was a Wizard (though in danger of it) because he did it ignorantly in misbelief.

I fear some young persons through a vain curiosity to know their future condition, have tampered with the Devils tools, so far that hereby one door was opened to Satan to play those pranks; *Anno* 1692. I knew one of the Afflicted persons, who (as I was credibly in|formed) did try with an egg and a glass to Page 133find her future Husbands Calling; till there came up a Coffin, that is, a Spectre in likeness of a Coffin. And she was afterward followed with diabolical molestation to her death; and so dyed a single person. A just warning to o|thers, to take heed of handling the Devils wea|pons, lest they get a wound thereby.

Another, I was called to pray with, being un|der sore fits and vexations of Satan. And upon examination I found she had tryed the same charm: and after her confession of it and ma|nifestation of repentance for it, and our prayers to God for her, she was speedily released from those bonds of Satan. This iniquity though I take it not to be the Capital crime condemned, *Exod.* 22. Because such persons act ignorantly, not considering they hereby go to the Devil; yet borders very much upon it: and is too like *Sauls* going to the Witch at *Endor*, and *Ahaziah* sending to the God of *Ekron* to enquire.

CHAPTER. XV.

I proceed now to speak of some kinds of these Devilish artists, not by an exact distri|bution of them into their several species. For though they are distinguished by several names and practices, yet they all agree in the general crime of Witchcraft, and

being thereby as it were the Devils Priests and Prophets, depend|ling upon his aid and oracles; so that he that is Page 134of one kind may be also of another, or all the rest, according to their several ends for which, and ways by which they make their applicati|ons to the Prince of darkness: and as he is pleased to communicate of his skill or power to the answering of their expectations for a re|ward of their dependance upon him. And as of old, they had several names, as Magicians, Di|viners, *&c.* So of late times, they have their se|veral names, and in part several kinds of skill, or power, as Conjurers, Astrologers, Cunning men, Mathematicians, Witches, *&c.* But all of them if they have their knowledge, or skill, or work|ling by the Devil, are in Satans black list of Witches. Some such there have been who di|vine by representing a person, or coffin, or thing sought after in a looking glass, to discover to the person enquiring somewhat secret, or future. I have heard several credible Stories of such Conjurers; and shall relate one here that I suppose was never in Print. An ancient Woman related to me, *That when she was a Maid, she had a curiosity to know who should be her Husband, and was informed of a Doctor that would shew Maids their future Husbands in a glass: To him therefore she went with her Money in her hand, to know who should be her Husband; and be carry|led her to a great looking glass, where she saw a man in his full proportion whom she never saw before. And a while after met this man (represented in the glass) in the street, and having on the same Page 135 Cloaths he was represented with from head to foot; and soon after he came a Suitor to her, and she was Married to him, and was her Husband when she made this Relation.* In this relation observe,

1. It was no doubt a truth, for she told me this in way of craving my advice, whether she had done well or evil in going to the Dr. and I told her, she did evil in going thereby to the Devil. 2. It was no delusion of her phantasie, or affection working toward any person; for it was one she never saw before, that was now shewed unto her. 3. The Dr. could not bring into the glass the shadow of a man absent and unknown, by any natural cause, or means by him used. Therefore it was from the Devil, who raised this Spectre in likeness of a man then un|known. 4. And the Dr. doing this frequently for his Money, must know he did it by a fami|liar Spirit, and therefore was a Conjurer in some league explicite, or implicite with Satan. And I have heard and read of other Stories of this kind very credible, which satisfy me, that this was not the only Conjurer in *England*. But it may be queried,

Q. *How could Satan foretel this woman who should be her Husband, it being then a future con|tingent thing?*

A. In this case, it might be easy for Satan to give a very probable conjecture; for the man was a *Newfoundlander* that came to *England* for a Wife, as directed by his friends unto this Page 136young woman: And the Devil knew of his coming, he being at that time upon the Sea thitherwards, or newly come on shoar; and the Devil knew his errand, and the quality and conditions of both parties (as he is a discerning, peircing spirit;) and so knew it very probable to be a Match. And by this representation in the glass imposeth

upon her Superstitious, ignorance, a kind of belief of a necessity to accept him when he came. But in other cases, its not so easy.

Q. Here then we may enquire, *How can the Devil know things to come? Is not this Gods prerogative? Isa* 41.22, 23.

A. Its true that the Lord alone knows things to come, so that neither man or Angel can know future events, unless the Lord make them known, or afford means whereby the creature may attain to know them: *Shew us things to come hereafter, that we may know that ye are Gods. Of that day and bout knoweth no man, no not the Angels of Heaven, Math.* 24.30. *Rev.* 5.8, 4. *None in heaven, or earth, or under the earth, was able to open the book* (sealed with seven seals) *and to loose the seales thereof.* Many other Scriptures speak of our ignorance of things & times to come, *Prov.* 27.1. *Eccl.* 8.7. *&* 6.12.

2. Yet God affordeth means whereby men, who are far less discerning than Spirits, come to know many futurities certainly, and of others probably to guess, so as generally or for Page 137the most part it proves according to mans foresight. *A wise man fore-seeth the evil, Prov.* 22.3 *&* 27.12.

1. By visions and revelations and such like, so God revealed to *Abraham* and *David*, the conditions of their Posterity for a great while to come, 2 *Sam.* 7.19.

2. The Prophecyes, promises & threatnings in Scripture are a standing revelation of futurities, in matters religious, civil, political & natural, as the changes of seasons, *&c. Gen* 8.22.

3. Many things are fore-known by their causes. As that wood thrown into the fire will be burnt, *&c.* And thus many Physitians foresee the death of a person sick of an incurable disease, when neither they nor their relations are sensible of it.

4 Many things are fore known by the usual signes that go before them, which though they are not proper causes of the effects following, yet are concurrent with them. *As when the Fig trees branch is tender Summer is nigh, Math.* 24.32. A red skie in the evening is a sign of a fair morning; and a red skie in the morning lowring of soul weather, and so it comes to pass, *Math.* 16.1, 2, 3. *Luk.* 12.54, 55, 56.

5. Some things men foresee very probable to come to pass, because themselves or others have intended and contrived how to bring them to pass. As *Saul* fore tells to *Jabesh-Gilead; They shall have help to morrow by that time the Sun be* *Page 138* *hot*, 1 *Sam.* 11.9. Because he intended and contrived it.

6. By observation & experience of the usual events of providence, in the way of Gods governing the world; a wise man fore knows probably at least, what will come to pass under like circumstances. And among men, one fore seeth things to come farther than another; as he excels another in prudence. As the prudent fore seeth, *when the simple*

pass on and are p•shed, Prov. 22.3. Or hath had a larger ex|perience than another, *Eccl.* 8.5. *A wise •ans heart discerneth time and judgment.*

1. In all the above mentioned ways, except the first, Satan hath the same advantage to know future events as man hath; and many advantages above man. (1.) As he is more knowing, wise, and of a larger understanding than man. (2.) In that as a Spirit, he pierces more into the insides and secrets of persons, actions and things. He cannot know the heart of man immediately, that is Gods pre|rogative, *Jer.* 17.10. Yet so far as the heart discovers it self by its operations, upon the sen|ses, external and internal, and other members of the body, Satan will find it out. (3.) By the swiftness and multitude of those Legions of unclean Spirits; they are present in all Companies, Counsils, Cabals, and affairs of the Children of men, even with the Sons of God when they worship God; and with the Page 139Sons of men in all the compass of the earth. *Job* 1.6, 7. (4) They have their experien|ces of five thousand years standing. (5.) When they intend and contrive any design upon the children of men, they a•e not in danger of be|ing prevented by death (as men often are) for Spirits cannot dye; and so more probably foretel the events of their own counsels. And by all the means and advantages above-said, Satan can fore-see future contingent events much farther off than man can, and so foretell (the Lord suffering) a sign or wonder which shall after come to pass.

2. Satan hath also the advantage of fore|knowing, and fore shewing future things by some way of divine revelation at some times, for the punishment of men. So God by some means (the way whereby to us unknown) lets the Devil know the death of *Saul* and his Sons, and reveal it to *Saul* for his punishment in going to seek to Satan; and so Satan knows the way to destroy *Ahab*, and that from God; and contrives a way to bring it about, *viz.* by being *a lying Spirit in the mouth of* Ahabs *Pro|phets.*

3. Yea, the Lord succeeds the diabolical divinations of the King of *Babylon*, to prophe|cy success unto him against *Judah*, for the pu|nishment of *Judahs* fins. *Ezek.* 21.18. *to* 25. From this place observe, (1.) That the King of *Babylon* intending War against *Rabbath* and Page 140*Jerusalem*, knew not which to go first unto. (2.) Therefore he useth divination by arrows, by consulting an Image or *Teraphim*, and by looking into the liver of some beasts (always used by the heathen) so that if the divination favour the right hand, he will go first to *Je|rusalem*: If the left, to *Rabbah*. (3.) Those divinations had no natural power in them to direct them, but they were means whereby they enquire of their Gods, that is the Devil. (4) The Lord so over rules the divination, that is the Devils Oracle by the Image, *&c.* that the answer shall be, *Go to Jerusalem and prosper*; and accordingly he goes and prospers. (5.) The Lord grants such success (not ap|pointing the sin) unto these devillish divinati|ons for the punishment of his apostate people. But when ever the Lord pleaseth, he disap|points all the Devils. Ordinances. So that the Devil cannot know, or cannot discover to his Vassals what shall come to pass. *Isa.* 44.25. *He frustrateth the tokens of the lyars, and maketh di|viners mad, and maketh their knowledge foolish.*

1. Then Inchantments, Sorceries, Astrolo|gers, *&c.* shall not be able to save from evil, or to profit, *Isa.* 47.12, 13, 14.

4. If all the ways above said so fail the De|vil, that he cannot foretel what shall be hereaf|ter, he hath an art by the ambiguity of his an|swers, to salve his credit, be the event which way it will. So 1 *King.* 22.6. He tells *Ahab;* Page 141 *The Lord shall deliver it into the hand of the King*; but doth not determine which King, whether of *Syria*, or *Israel*. So in his Oracles of old to *Cresus. Cresus Halyn penetrans mag|nam disperdet opum vim*. Like the Sophism u|sed against King *Edward* the Second. To shed King *Edwards* Blood refuse to fear, I count it good. And this shall suffice to speak of this kind of Divining.

2. Another sort of Diviners are they that reveal secrets, as where Stollen Goods are hid, or how Persons and Vessels do at Sea, or in other Countries, which they pretend to know by the Stars, and Positions of the Heavens; but indeed by a familiar spirit. These are by way of distinction called, Astrologers, Mathe|maticians, *&c.* Such, *Isai* 47.13 are called, *Heberei Shaemajim*, Observers of the Heavens, (translated Astrologers) And *Hachotsim Be|chochabim*, Beholders of the Stars, or Star gaz|ers. But whatever men pretend, the Stars cannot reveal such secrets.

1. Suppose two men go to Sea in the same Ship, from *England* to *Barbadoes*, and one dy|eth, and another liveth; they go out, continue at Sea, and come to the Island both of them under the same position of the Stars. How then can the Heavenly Bodies tell the Astrolo|ger in *England*, that one man is dead, and the other alive? So *Perkin* and *Paulet* steal each an Horse out of the same Stable, at the same Page 142time; *Perkin* carries his stollen Horse to *Bri|stol*, and *Paulet* carries his to *Exeter*, both at one time; how can the Stars direct the Ma|thematician to find one Horse at *Exeter*, and the other in *Bristol?* they cannot, but the De|vil can.

2. The Stars have their regular motion con|tinued the same, according to the Law God laid upon them at first, *Psa.* 19.4, 5, 6. *&* 104.19. The fixed Stars continue in their orb, and the planets in theirs, whether men steal or be honest, go abroad or stay at home, are sick or well. *They are for signs and seasons*; but not to point out the arbitrary actions of or contingent events upon men. Mr. *Lee*, the •te learned Minister of the Gospel in *New Bristol*, related a credible Story of a Gentleman in *Hartford-shire*,

Who had studied the Rules of Astrology, and being much urged, tryed by them to find for his friend a stolen Horse; but when by all the rules of his art, he could find no|thing, sat musing with his eyes shut, and just such a Horse as the man described, was re|presented to his Imagination, going with two men into a Stable, at such an Inn, in such a Town: He directs the man to go thither: he did so, and found his Horse, and returned to thank the artist The Astrologer told him it was the Devil suggested it to his Imagina|tion, and thereupon resolved never more to meddle with that art.

Page 143 3. The insufficiency of these rules of them|selves appear, in that those that seek for help by these artists, must have a belief, that they can help them, or else they cannot discover a|ny thing to them. But if it were by pure art, the rules would be as effectual when people come without such a faith, as with it.

I knew a very pious Matron, who when she was young in *England*, had lost some goods, and in her ignorance, went to a cunning man to find them. He told her he could not help her, unless she did believe he could. She answered, she believed in God, (or hoped in God) he could. Nay replied he, if you be|lieve in God, I cannot help you. And so she returned without her goods, but with a con|viction that she had gone to the Devil for help, and was not aware of it.
Another re|lation like this, Mr. *Sherman* of *Boston* told me concerning himself.
He being in *England* was unawares brought into the Company of such a Mathematician, to whom diverse came and gave him Money, to tell them, how, and where their friends & vessels were, that went over sea. And he after he had raised his Scheams, and made his calculations gave them such informations as they were satisfyed in. And at length, understanding Mr. *Sherman* was a *New England* man, asked, ◊ h• would know the state of his friends in *New England. Sherman* replyed, there were ◊ of his Art Page 144 in *New-England:* (Oh that it may be always so said of us!) but he had heard of this pro|fession: it was said, they could inform none that did not believe they could help them: And he did not believe. The Artist reply|ed, he did it by pure Art, and would have *Sherman* try him, which at last he did. Tell me, said he, where my Father and Mother now are, and how they do. The Astrolo|ger asked him many questions, and after he had tryed the rules of his Art, said; They were both alive in good health in *Boston* in *New England*. This is not so, said *Sherman*, for they were both dead before I came thence; and I told you, that you could not help me unless I did believe.

These two Relations agree with what Mr. *Perkins* urgeth against Judicial Astrologers. *Chap.* 3. *p* 80 *Viz.* That they *cannot help those that come doubting* of their ability, or in a way to tempt the Astrologer.

3. A third sort of these Diviners are such as pretend to tell persons their Fortunes (as they call it) or future Condition by looking into their hands. I have been acquainted with some who have acquainted me with strange futurities, these Fortune tellers have informed them of, which after came to pass; such as man could not foretel but by the Devil, no nor the Devil, but by some Judicial Act of God over ruling their Predictions, as he did the Page 145 divinations of *Nebuchadnezzar. Ezek* 21.21. above mentioned: The vanity and falshood of the pretended Art of *Chyromancy* to predict by, appeareth (1) In that there is no such variety of strokes or marks in the hands or faces of men and women, as there be variety of con|ditions in mans life which they pretend to find out by these marks. (2) If there were any such predicting Characters stamped by na|ture upon the bodies of persons; these Fortune-tellers are the most unlikely to know them; they being generally illiterate, ignorant of na|ture, art, religion, reason, history, & experience, and scarce a degree above b•uit beasts.

Let all be warned then of the great sin and snare that is in hearkening to such Soothsayers; the scope of their profession being to draw men off from dependance upon God and his guiding Providence in obedience to his Scrip|ture Commands, with faith resting upon his promises, to lean upon the predictions of For|tune tellers, who whether they prophecy good or evil, ensnare those exceedingly that enquire of them: for if they prophecy good, they are eagerly lifted up with doubtful expectations of its accomplishment. If it be evil, they are han|ging upon a wrack of doubtful fears and terrors which rob them of the comfort of their times of health and prosperity, contrary to the advice given them, *Eccl.* 2.24 *&* 3.12, 22. These above named use Witchcrafts in way of divination.

Page 1464 There be a fourth sort, whose exercise is more in operation, *viz.* such as cast a mist be|fore the eyes of others by their Witchcrafts, who are alluded unto, *Gal.* 3 1. by the Greek word *Bascaino quasi phaesi Kaino*. They have their eyes so held or darkened, that they cannot see things as they are: So the false teachers did bemist the eyes of the *Galatians, viz* the eyes of their minds, that they could not see Christ Cru|cifyed before their eyes. Alike unto these are they who raise the Devil, or Spectres in divers forms, doing strange things thereby. Of this sort was Dr. *Lamb* the notorious Conjurer, kil||•d by the Mobile in *London*, in *Charles* the first his Reign. Mr. *Baxter* of Spirits, *Chap.* 7 *p.* 155, 156. Relates a well attested Story of Dr. *Lamb*, his raising in the middle of a room, a Tree, lit|tle fellows, apes, baskets, *&c.* all which soon va|nished. I refer the Reader to Mr. *Baxter*, for the Story at large.

5. Another sort are such as they call white Witches; that by spells, charms, *&c.* will cure Diseases, and that more easily than men can, and fetch fish bones out of mens hands, *&c.* (1) Note here that the Devil hath more skill in the knowledge of all healing medicines than any man: and more ability and dexterity to convey them insensibly unto any fore, than a|ny mortal creature. (2.) That some have such an ambition to excel in Physick, & curing va|riety of wounds and diseases, that they will ra|ther Page 147go to the Devil, then fail of their desired skill and honour thereby. Many credible Hi|stories I have heard of this kind; but I spare to enlarge in these things which have been so ful||y handled by *Perkins*, and others.

CHAPTER. XVI.

I come now to speak concerning those that are called *Black Witches*, or *Malefic•* *Witches,* who by their enchantments do call in the De|vils aid, for revenge, to do hurt to the bodies, and health of their neighbours, or to their cat|tle, goods, and the like. These are the persons commonly called Witches, and against whom the spirits of men and the laws of men are most bent, for their prosecution and punishment. Now that I have concerning such to say, I shall com|prehend in the ensuing *Propositions*.

Prop. 1. There have been many evils that have befallen man and beast, which have been ungroundedly ascribed to Witchcraft, and so to Witches, which proceed from other

causes: As from natural operations tho' hidden from those that so suspect: or from the hand of God immediately, or from the hand of Satan with|out the concurrence of man kind; as hath been in part shewed already in this enquiry above. Should an herd of Swine run violently down a streep place into the Sea in these days and pe|rish in the waters, as did the *Gergesens* Swine, Page 148*Math.* 8.32. People would conclude they pe|rished by Witchcraft; and yet there was no such cause of the destruction.

Prop. 2 Melancholly and Imagination hath fancied many things to proceed from Witches, when there is no ground for it.

Prop. 3 Many impossible things for Witches, or the Devil to do by them, are related to be done by Witches: As the transmutation of bo|dies from men to beasts, *&c.* The going in Spi|rit to places far distant, and leaving their bodies behind; as if the Devil could separate the Soul from the body, and restore it again at pleasure, which is to ascribe to him a divine power to restore the dead. Such things are either devised fictions, or abuses of the imaginations of them that so sav• of themselves: they, being only laid in a tr• o• dream, and so conceiting a change in them that never was. So some have affirmed they have been carryed many hundred miles through the air, to remote places and brought back again in an hour or two, which cannot be without a miracle; for so swift a mo|tion through the air, would take away the breath of a person so transported, without an almighty power to sustain them.

Prop. 4. It must be granted that there is no clear instance of any such *Malefick* or *Black* Witch in Scriptures. The Magicians of *Egypt* or *Babylon*, or those mentioned *Act.* 8.9, • 11. *&* 13.8, 9, 10. *Jer.* 27.9. *Isa.* 47. *Dan.* 2. *&*Page 1494. *&* 5. *chap.* are not charged with any such crimes. The only instance I remember given of such an one in Scripture is *Balaam*: but he cannot be proved to be such an one. (1) Its pleaded that *Balak* sent to him to come; *For I wot*, (saith he) *that he whom thou cursest is cursed.* And this indeed shews what an opinion *Balak* had of him, *Numb* 22.6 But when *Balaam* answers the messengers. he tells them; *As the Lord*, i. e. Jehovah, *shall speak to me, I will bring you word*: And Jehovah refuseth to give me leave: *And the word that God putteth in my mouth, that shall I speak v.* 8, 13, 38. So that whate|ver opinions *Balaam* might have of plurality of Gods, yet he owns he could not curse *Israel* but by the true God. See *Numb.* 23 1, 3 *with Deut.* 23. 4, 5. *Josh.* 24 9, 10. The Scripture shews that *Balaam* sought not to curse *Israel*, but by the everliving God. (2) And if it be said, that *Balaam* saying, *There is no inchantment a|gainst Jacob, neither divination against Israel, Cap.* 23. 23. Intima•eth, That there may be inchant|ment and divination also against other people; yet it doth not signify that *Balaam* used to curse any without the assistance of the true God. For he saith, *v.* 8. *How shall I curse whom God hath not curse? or how shall I defy, whom the Lord hath not defied?* He speaks as a man convinced, that the power of all false Gods was unable to bring a curse without Gods leave. *And if Ba|lak would give him an house full of Silver & Gold*, Page 150he saith, *he cannot go beyond the word of the Lord*, or Jehovah, my God, *to do less or more* Where note, that *Balaam* openly professeth to these heathen, that Jehovah is his God, and him he will obey, *Numb.* 22.18. And when the

Angel of Jehovah opposeth him, he submits so far to him as to offer, if it displeased him, he would go back again. And when he comes to sacrificing, still it is to *Jehovah*. For he said, *Chap* 23 3 after he had offered, Peradventure Jehovah will come & meet me, *&c.* and where God met him, *He said unto him, i. e.* to Jehovah. *I have offered upon every altar a bullock & a ram*, and this was repeated again, and still *Balaam* went to meet Jehovah, and Jehovah met him once and again, and put a word in his mouth. And *Balaam* spake the word Jehovah put into his mouth: and when *Balaam* saw it pleased Jehovah to bless *Israel, Chap.* 24. 1 All the cir|cumstances of the place shew that all his addres|ses were unto the living God, that by him he might procure such a curse upon *Israel*, which might do more against *Israel* then all the armies of *Balak* could do.

Q *Why then is* Balaam *called a Soothsayer or Di|viner, and said to use Inchantments? and what are those Enchantments? and why so called*?

A. These inchantments were the Sacrifices mentioned, *Chap* 24. which were offered to the true God For its said, *He went not as at other times to seek for Enchantments*: This plainly re|fers Page 151 to the times when he sacrificed as above|said *Heb. Che•agnam, bepagnam, i. e.* not this time as the former time; namely the times when he sacrificed. Thus *Ainsworth in locum*; all his for|mer altars and sacrifices were by the art of in|chantment, or observing fortunes. But how these were inchantments, seeing they were not as the heathen inchantments to a false God, & that sacrificing was an Ordinance of God, is a difficulty to understand. But I conceive they are so called, because *Balaam* did pervert the end and use of Gods O•dinance, and therein imitate the Heathen. For God had said to him, *Thou shalt not curse the people, for they are blessed* Yet*Balaam* by these Sacrifices will try to curse them. So heathen nations are said to do, before they warred against any people to endeavour by prayers, sacrifices and enchantments to turn the favour of God from them. Before the Heal|then *Romans* Besieged any City, their Priests, called out the God, under whose tutelage the City was, that he would forsake the people, Temples and holy things, and be Provost unto them, and accept of their City, *&c.* vowing to him, if he would so do, to honour him with Temples, *&c.* And then offered Sacrifices to the Dictator or Emperour, devoted, or cursed the Enemies Cities and Armies, that they might be filled with fear, terror, *&c. Balaam* acts his like. These and like the Charmers, *Maim•ny* speaks of, who whisper over a wound, or read a verse Page 152 out of the Bible: likewise he that readeth over an infant, that it may not be frighted; or that layeth the Bible, or the Phylacte•ies upon a child that it may sleep: Such saith he, are In|chanters or Charmers, because they make the words of the Scripture; medicine for the body, whereas they are not, but medicine for the Soul. So *Balaam* makes a charm of an Ordi|nance of God: For neither *Balak* nor *Balaam* ai|med to give honour & glory to God thereby, but to use them as it were a bribe, to try if thereby they could prevail with the Lord to reverse his word, whereby he had said of *Isra|el, They are blessed*. For when he sees he can|not prevail, he saith, *God is not a man that he should•ly; and he hath blessed, and I cannot reverse it*. Again, what *Balaam* did herein, it was not sincerely for God, but for his hire, *Neh.* 13.2. Even for rewards of Divination, *Numb.* 22.7. *For the wages of unrighteousness*, 2 *Pet.* 2.15. Pos|sibly also there might be somewhat like inchant|ment in

the manner of his sacrificing; as *Sacri|ficing in the high places of* Baal, *and on the top of* Peor, places formerly dedicated to *Baal-Peor*. Thus *Balaam* by his Enchantments deserved the title of a Soothsayer or Diviner and mad Prophet.

Prop. 5. Though there be no plain example of a *Mal•fick* Witch; yet from what the Scrip|ture saith of the power of Satan and his malice against man, & of the wickedness that is in the Page 153heart of man; we may see there is a possibili|ty of such abominable creatures to be found in the black list of Satans guard. For,

1. Satan hath power when the Lord permits him, to do mischief to the bodies and estates of mankind, as already proved in the instances of *Job* and others.

2. There be some persons so wicked that *A|baz* like, they will sacrifice to and serve the Devil, that he may help them. And if in other things, why not in revenging them upon those they hate, as well as in other matters? As *Israel* slew their brethren in a rage that reached up to heaven: so some will pursue their adversalries with a rage reaching down to hell. And excess of anger gives great advantage to the Devil, *Eph.* 4.26, 27. *Let not the Sun go down upon your wrath; neither give place to the Devil.* If sinful anger gives the Devil a place, how much more such a rage as whereby men go to hell for aid against their toes? When men seek to Satan for revenge, he will be ready to further them in it; by discoursing with them, (as he did with *Eve*, yea with Christ himself, *Math.* 4.) to see what he may gain upon them thereby: or by tempting them to sacrifice to him, or use his ceremonies and ordinances, whereby, Satan is implicitely at least invoked for to do his utmost on their behalf. And Sa|tan that promised to the spotless Lamb of God, all the kingdoms of the world, will be ready Page 154to promise such miscreants to revenge them on their adversaries, or any mischief they desire, if they will serve him. And at some times to per|form his promise if the Lord suffer him, as the roaring Lyon that seeks to devour: or at least will pretend himself author, of the harms the envyed person sustaines. But if he cannot, yet be can answer such deluded creatures, that ei|ther they did not observe his direction, or that God hath set an hedge about the party malig|ned, or the like, and so keep up his credit still.

Mrs. *Got*, a very credible and pious woman, told me, *That her father Mr.* Palmer *lived nigh a man that acknowledged himself to be a Conjurer. On a certain day there came a violent wind upon Mr.* Palmers *house, as if it would blow it down: but it only blew down an Elm tree that stood in his Court yard. In process of time this Conjurer came to Mr.* Palmer *and confessed that he had a grudge against him, and thereupon did invocate the Devil to do* Palmer *a mischief, and he promised to blow down* Palmers *house; but only blew down the Elm• whereupon the Conjurer taxed the Daemon with breach of promise: But he answered*, Palmer *was a Praying man, and God had set an hedge about all that he had need of, and so he had no power over his house; but the Elm being only for shew and re|creation, he had power over that.*

As for matters of fact, I must refer to histo|ries that speak of *Malefick* Witchcraft, wherein though many things are certain or fabulous, Page 155there may be truth in some of those relations. And by the above-mentioned, and other such histories, we meet with of that kind, we may gather, That when persons will seek to the Del|vil for revenge, he will either do harm to those they hate, or if the Lord inflict by his hand upon such persons hated by the Conjurers, Satan will perswade the Conjurer, that he effected it in persuance of their quarrel. But if the desired mis|chief be not effected, the Devil will have a plea to excuse himself. But however they which by themselves immediately invocate the Devil to help them, to avenge themselves on those they hate, are hereby *Malefick* Witches, whether they obtain his help or not.

CHAPTER XVII.

HAving said thus much to shew what the Witches condemned by Scripture are, I shall reflect upon some assertions laid down in a Book dispersed about *Salem, Anno* 1695. En|tituled, *Truth held forth &c.* Published, by *Thomas Maul, pag.* 221. He saith, What is the Del|vil, or Hell but nothing? that God never crea|ted them, for they were *Non Entity*, a not be|ing, which is contrary and perfectly opposite to Entity and Being: And this might be the Devil that dwelt in *Adam* which seduced him, *Pag.* 185. He insinuates, That if people keep Gods Commands, or are righteous persons, they Page 156cannot be possessed or bewitched by the Devil or his Instruments; for the cause of their being possessed, or bewitched, hath been through a life of disobedience to God, *Pag.* 190. Saith, The way to know one that is a Witch from one that is not a Witch, is by that wisdom, by which the Damosel, *Acts* 16.16. was known to be a Witch. Unto these assertions, I answer, (1.) By the said *Thomas Maul* & his Wife: For when *B. B.* was upon her Tryal, the said *Mauls* Wife came in and testified against the said *B.B.* to prove her a Witch, in order to her Condem|nation for Witchcraft: And the same day said *B.* was Executed, *T. Maul* said in my hearing, that if he had been desired to pray with her at her Execution, he would not; for he believed she was guilty of that sin the Scripture saith, we must not pray for it; for he believed she was a Witch, and had covenanted with the Devil, & forsaken God; and that was the sin we ought not to pray for. He said also that he could have come in a witness against her, if he would; & that he believed she had bewitched to death a Child of his. And he believed most of those in Prison were Witches. From hence I gather, that in the year 1692. *T. Maul* did believe the Devil to be an Entity, & that a Witch by him had power to bewitch to death the Child of him that he esteemed a righteous person; be|lieving as others did, save that he counted a Witch guilty of the unpardonable sin. But when Page 157others find an error in proceeding too far in these matters, he comes to see it also: And to avoid it, runs into another extream; which I prove by the ensuing Propositions.

Prop. 1. The Devils were once holy Angels, created by God, and so Entities. This appear|leth by many Scriptures before mentioned: As by his tempting our Saviour, *Mat* 4. Who had no corrupt quality within him; being the spot|less Lamb of God; yet him did Satan tempt, *yea take him up into the holy City, & set him on the pinacle of the Temple,*

and into an high mountain, and shew him all the Kingdoms of the World, and the glory of them. These things could not be done by a *Non Ens.* I shall add some farther con|firmation from other places, (1) *Jude* 6. Angels were created by God. The Devils are Angels. (2) They that left their own habitation are En|tities. But the Devils left their own habitation: Therefore Entities (3) They that sinned, and for their sin are delive•ed into *Chains of Dark|ness, to be reserved unto Judgment*, are Entities: But so did the Devil, 2 *Pet.* 2 4 Therefore, *&c.* (4.) He that is the Prince of this World, the *God of this World, the Prince of the power of the Air; be that goeth to and fro in the earth, and walketh up and down in it*, is a Bring an Entity. But such is the Devil *Job* 1 7 *Job* 14 30.2 *Cor.* 4. 4. *Eph* 2.2. Therefore. So then the denying the Entity of the Devil, is a reviving the old Do|ctrine of the *Sadduces Act* 22.8. Who said, *There is neither Angel nor Spirit*.

Page 158*Prop.* 2. There was no Devil dwelt in *Adam* to seduce him before he was tempted by *Eve*, to *eat of the tree of knowledge of good and evil*. The Devil, saith he, is not a Being, yet dwelt in *Adam*, and seduced him: By this Devil in *Adam* then he meaneth a sinsul quality in *Adam* be|fore he was tempted to eat, or it was a name without signification. But there could be no such evil quality in *Adam* before so tempted: For i• it were, it must be created with him, or enter into him before *Eve* did tempt him: But neither of these, therefore not at all. Not the former, *for he was created upright, Eccl* 7 29. *Very good, and in Gods Image, Gen* 1.26, 27, 31. Not the latter, for the Scripture gives no inti|mation of any evil in *Adam* before seduced by the woman (2) Nay the Devil that seduced him was without him, even the Serpent or De|vil in the Serpent, that seduced *Eve* first by talk|ing with her, and by her was he deceived, *Gen.* 3.1. *to* 6. 2 *Cor.* 11.3. 1 *Tim.* 2.14. *Adam was not deceived* (that is first) *but the woman, &c.* (3.) The Lord in punishing that first sin, doth distinctly punish *Adam, Eve* and the Serpent (in which is comprehended the Devil that old Ser|pent. *Gen.* 3.14, 15. *with* 2 *Cor.* 11.3. *Rev.* 20.2.) as three distinct Entities or Beings; therefore the Devil was without, *ad extra*, before *Adam* was beguiled.

Prop. 3. All wicked men are not Witches; as *T. Maul* holds forth, *p.* 183. & 193. *&c.* Say|ing, Page 159*All that live a life of disobedience are Witches in some degree*, with more to that effect. For if all wicked persons were Witches in the sence in|tended, *Exod.* 22 18. *Deut.* 18.10. Then all wicked men should have been put to death by the law of *Moses*. But there was no such thing. Nay all the heathen Idolaters were not called Witches, or Sorcerers in *Egypt* or *Babylon*, but only some peculiar persons among them. And if all had familiar Spirits, there had not been that need of such a warning, *Regard not them which have familiar Spirits, nor seek after Wizards, &c.*

Prop. 4. God hath no where promised all peo|ple that keep Gods Commands, or are righteous persons, that they shall not be possessed or be|witched by the Devil or his Instruments. Indeed it is sometimes so, as *Numb.* 23.21, 23 *There is no inchantment against Jacob, neither any divina|tion against Israel; when God hath not beheld ini|quity in Jacob, nor seen perverseness in Israel*. And our best shield against Satan is faith in Christ, with prayer and an holy life. Yet *Job* a per|fect man did suffer more in his Body,

Goods, Servants and Children then most wicked men in the World have done. And it was a Daugh|ter of *Abraham* whom *Satan bound eighteen years, Luk.* 13 16. And a Mother of whom it is said, *O woman great is thy faith, be it unto thee even as thou wilt; who had a Daughter grievously vexed with a Devil possessing of her*. So that God in his Soveraignty makes all things come alike to all Page 160when he pleaseth; *so that no man knoweth lo• or hatred by any thing that is before him*.

Prop 5. The hewitching spoken of, *Gal.* 3.1. is not to be understood of a proper or literal bewitching, but in a Metaphorical sence, where by way of •llusion, the false Teachers are com|pared to Witches, as being like them; for as Witches have bewitched the eyes of the Body, so they bewitched the eyes of the mind. And though Witchcraft be one kind of the works of the flesh mentioned, *Gal* 5.19, 20, 21. Yet the Text doth not say, all the works of the Flesh are Wi•chcraft: But this is distinct from Mur|der, Drunkenness and the rest, as they are di|stinct each from other.

Prop. 6 The Wisdom of God doth no where say, that the Damosel mentioned, *Act.* 16.•6 was a Wi•ch. But it describeth her to be a person possessed with a spirit of divination, or having a spirit of *Python* within her: Whom *Paul* in the name of Christ commanded to come out of her, and so he was cast out. That Spirit that calleth her a Witch, doth consequentially at least call the Damosel, *Mark* 7 25. a Witch, be|cause she had an unclean spirit; and so would render all the possessed in the Gospel, worthy of death by *Moses* Law; which is to subvert all the Scriptures which condemn that abominati|on. It was therefore a blasphemous compari|son which he made, who said, There was as great mistakes in the Scripture, as in *T. Mauls*Page 161Book; presuming therein to equalize to the lively Oracles of God, a Book abounding with gross mistakes in Doctrine and History.

Q. *How may a Witch; Sorcerer or Conjurer be proved to be such as being legally convicted to re|ceive the punishment appointed? Exod* 27.18.

A. I answer from 1 *Sam.* 28 *Chap.* We find there *that Saul put away th•se that had familiar Spirits, and Wizards out of the Land, vers.* 3. Yet one was left at *Endor, v.* 7. *Saul* then had a way to convict them; & the Woman at *Endor* points at the way, *v.* 9. For *Saul* had said to her, *Di|vine unto me by the familiar spirit, and bring me him up whom I shall name unto thee*: The Wo|man answers, *Wherefore then layest thou a snare for my life, to cause me to dye? q. d* If it be proved by sufficient witness, that I Divine by a famili|ar Spirit, and raise a Ghost from the Dead, I must dy by the Law. But *Saul* sweareth to her by the Lord, *As Jehovah liveth, there shall no punishment happen to thee for this thing*. And then she proceeds. Note, that this woman tho' she dealt with and by the Devil, hath so much knowledge of Jehovah, and confidence in an Oath made by him, that she ventures her life upon it. Again, *v.* 21. After she had raised the supposed *Samuel*, she said unto *Saul; I have o|beyed thy voice, and have put my life in my band*. As if she had said, I have done that in obedi|ence to thee; that were it proved against me, would take away my life. Here then we see Page 162that if it can be proved against any, that

they have divined by a familiar spirit, or done such like act of communion with the Devil, or raisled the Dead by him that is the Devil in likeness of the Dead; then such a person is proved to be a Witch that ought to die: So in like manlner, if any be proved to use Sorceries (as did the Magicians of *Egypt*) among Christian peolple, such ought to dye, or proportionably by familiarity with the Devil to do, or come to know strange things, or work signs, lying wonlders, or miracles by him, as they are called, 2 *Thes* 2 9 *Rev.* 13 13, 14. *Deut.* 13.1, 2

Q. *But by what way may such Divinations and Sorceries be proved?*

A In the same way that Murder, Theft, and such like crimes are provable. As (1.) By the testimony of two Witnesses, that the party suspected bath us•d Sorcery, *&c.* (2.) Confessilon may in some cases be taken in this crime as well as others, as hath been above-shewed; If the persons be *compotes mentis*, and give as clear demonstration of their guilt of the fact, as *Balanab* and *Rechab* did of their slaying *Ishbosheth*, when they brought his head to *David*, 2 *Sam.* 4 •, *&c.* (3) The testimony of partners in the crime in some cases, as above shewed, *Chap.* 11. (4.) Circumstances antecedent to, concomitant with, or suddenly consequent upon such acts of Sorcery, have like force to fasten a suspicion of this crime upon this or that person; as the like Page 163circumstances have to fasten a suspicion upon any for another crime attended with them; *mutatis mutandis*.

Here it may be enquired, *Whether persons oblsessed, possessed, or under bodily torments or vexatilons by Satan, are fit witnesses*?

I answer in the ensuing Propositions.

Prop. 1. Those whose Bodies are sorely aflflicted by the Devil, and yet their understandlings clear and free, are fit to be Witnesses as well as others. As was *Job* who when Satan had smitten him with sore boyls from head to foot, yet was a fit witness for God. *Job* 42.7. *Speaking of God the thing that was right.*

Prop. 2. Some under these molestations of Sa|tan have their understandings so darkened and phantasies so abused, that they are not in their right mind, till delivered from Satan, as was the case of the man among the Tombs, *Mark.* 5.2, 3, 15. So the Damosel, *Acts* 16.16, 17. Though she gave a true testimony concerning *Paul* and *Silas*, yet she was no fit witness, because she spake by the instigation of Satan, & not of her own knowledge. So it may be proportio|nably in persons under the influence of in|chantment, or obsession by Satan, although in a lesser degree.

Prop. 3. Hence it may follow, that a person under these assaults of hell, may be fit for a witness at one time, when free from these fits, which darken his understanding: But not anolther Page 164time, *viz.* when the sences are beclouded by the violence of their fits. Again, they may be fit to testifie to some things; namely to what they feel and suffer upon their own Bodies. But not of what they see at some distance, or about external &

remoter objects; because their eyes & phantasies may be under some kind of fascilnation (as I may call it) of the Devil; so as to mistake one thing for another.

Obj *But is it not then according to the principles laid down above, impossible to prove any person to be a Witch; seeing the workings between Satan and them are so secret? How can they be discovered?*

A. Other Malefactors work secretly & in the dark, hoping never to be discovered. *Job* 24 14, 15, 16, 17. The Murderer, Thief, Adulterer, say, no eye shall see me, & disguise their faces, dig in the dark, *&c.* But the Lord searcheth out such Malefactors, when settled on their lees, with his candle of judgment, though they dig deep to hide themselves from men; yea, & if it were possible, from God himself. They say, *Who seeth us? who knoweth us, Zeph.* 1.12. *Isa* 29.15, 16. Yet the Lord brings all to light before men when he pleaseth. So the Lord can & doth discover Sorcerers Magicians, and all sorts of Witches, when, and as oft as he pleaseth; and sometimes leaves them to discover and betray themselves: And sometimes over rules their Master whom they serve, to intrap & deceive them: *Pro.* 26.26. *Whose hatred is covered by deceit,* Page 165 *his wickedness shall be shewed before the whole Con|gregation.* Which is to be understood when the Lord pleaseth to bring to light these hidden works of darkness.

CHAPTER XVIII.

I Shall conclude this Discourse with some Application of the whole.

1. We may hence see ground to fear, that there hath been a great deal of innocent blood shed in the Christian World, by proceeding up|on unsafe principles, in condemning persons for Malesick Witchcraft.

2. That there have been great sinful neglects in sparing others, who by their divinings about things future, or discovering things secret, as stollen Goods, *&c* or by their informing of persons and things absent at a great distance, have implored the assistance of a familiar spirit, yet coloured over with specious pretences, and have drawn people to enquire of them: A sin frequently forbidden in Scripture, as *Lev.* 19 31 *&* 20.6. *Isa.* 8.19, 20. and yet let alone, and in many parts of the World, have been counte|nanced in their diabolical skill and profession; because they serve the interest of those that have a vain curiosity, to pry into things God hath forbidden, and concealed from discovery by lawful means. And of others that by their inchantments, have raised mists, strange sights, Page 166and the like; to beget admiration, and please Spectators, *&c.* When as these divinations and operations are the Witchcraft more condemn|ed in Scripture than the other.

3. But to come nigher home, we have cause to be humbled for the mistakes & errors which have been in these Colonies, in their Proceed|lings against persons for this crime, above four|ty years ago and downwards, upon insufficient presumptions and presidents of our Nation, whence they came. I do not say, that all those were innocent, that suffered

in those times up|on this account. But that such grounds were then laid down to proceed upon, which were too slender to evidence the crime they were brought to prove; and thereby a foundation laid to lead into error those that came after. May we not say in this matter, as it is, *Psal.* 106 6. *We have sinned with our fathers?* And as, *Lam* 5.7. *Our fathers have sinned and are not, and we have born their iniquities?* And whether this be not one of the sins the Lord hath been many years contending with us for, is worthy our serious enquiry. If the Lord punished *Is|rael* with famine three years for a sin of mis|guided zeal fourty years before that, commit|ted by the breach of a Covenant made four hundred years before that: 2 *Sam.* 21.1, 2. Why may not the Lord visit upon us the mis|guided zeal of our Predecessors about Witch|craft above fourty years ago, even when that Generation is gathered to their Fathers.

Page 167 4. But I would come yet nearer to our own times, and bewail the errors and mistakes that have been in the year 1692. In the apprehen|ding too many we may believe were innocent, and executing of some, I fear, not to have been condemned; by following such traditions of our fathers, maxime of the Common Law, &, Presidents and Principles, which now we may see weighed in the balance of the Sanctuary, are found too light. I heartily concur with that direction for our publick prayers, emitted *December* 17. 1696 by our General Assembly, in an order for a general *Fast, viz. That God would shew us what we know not, and help us wherein we have done amiss, to do so no more: And especially that whatever mistakes on either hand, have been fallen into, either by the body of this peo|ple, or any order of men, referring to the late trage|dy raised among us by Satan and his Instruments, through the awful Judgment of God: He would humble us therefore, and pardon all the errors of his Servants & People, that desire to love his Name, and be attoned to his land.* I am abundantly sa|tisfyed that those who were most concerned to act and judge in those matters, did not willing|ly depart from the rules of righteousness. But such was the darkness of that day, the tortures and lamentations of the afflicted, and the power of former presidents, that we walked in the clouds, and could not see our way. And we have most cause to be humbled for error on Page 168 that hand, which cannot be retrieved. So that we must beseech the Lord, that if any innocent blood hath been shed, in the hour of temptati|on, the Lord will not lay it to our charge, but be merciful to his people whom he hath redeem|led, *Deut.* 21.8. And that in the day when he shall visit, he will not visit this sin upon our land, but blot it out, and wash it away with the blood of Jesus Christ.

5. I would humbly propose whether it be not expedient, that some what more should be publickly done then yet hath, for clearing the good name and reputation of some that have suffered upon this account, against whom the evidence of their guilt was more slender, and the grounds for charity for them more convincing. And this (in order to our obtaining from the Lord farther reconciliation to our land,) & that none of their surviving relations, may suffer re|proach upon that account. I have both read and heard of several in *England*, that have been executed for Capital crimes, and afterwards up|on sence of an error in the process against them, have been restored in blood and honour by some publick act. My Lord *Cook* relates a story. *A man going to correct a Girle his Neice, for*

some offence, in an upper room, the Girle strove to save her self till her nose bled, and wiping it with a chath, threw the bloody cloath out at the window, and cryed Murder; and then ran down staires, got away and bid her self. Her Uncle was prosecuted Page 169 *by her friends upon suspicion of Murdering her, be|cause she could not be found. He declared that she made her escape as above said. Then time was al|lowed him to bring her forth, but he could not hear of her within the time, and fearing be should dy if she could not be found, procures another Girle very like her, to appear in Court, and declare she was his Neice that had been missing: But her relations exa|mine this counterfeit, until they find her out, and she confesseth she was suborned and counterfeited th• true Neice. Upon these presumptions the man was found guilty of Murdering his Neice, and thereupon ex•cu|ted. And after his execution his true Neice comes abroad & shews her self alive and well. Then all that saw it were convinced of the Uncles innocency, and vanity of such presumptions.* The Printing & Publishing of this relation Vindicates the good name of the Uncle, from the imputation of the crime of Murder. And this is one end of this present discourse, to take off (so far as a dis|course of this nature can) infamy from the names and memory of such sufferers in this kind, as do not deserve the same.

6. Here it may be suitable for us to enquire, *What the Lord speaks to us by such a stupendeous pro|vidence, in his letting loose Satan upon us in this un|usual way? Ans.* 1. We may say of this, as our Saviour said of his washing his disciples seat, *Joh.* 13. *What I do thou knowest not now, but thou shalt know hereafter. The Judgements of the Lo• are a great deep*, Psal. 36.6. *How unsearchable are* Page 170 *his judgments, and his ways past finding out?* 2. Yet somewhat of his counsel at present for our instruction may be known, by comparing the Word and works of God together.

1. As when *Josh•a* the high Priest though an holy chosen man of God, stood before the An|gel, *Satan stood at his right hand to resist him*, or to be his adversary: And the advantage Sa|tan had was by the filthy garments *Joshua* was cloth•d with before the Angels: That is, some iniquity which yet was not passed away, *Zech*, 3.1, 3, 4. So we may say here were among Gods own Children filthy garments. The sins of Luke|warmness, loss of our first love, unprofitableness under the Gospel, slumbering & deeping in the wise, as well as foolish Virgin•, worldliness, pride, carnal security, and many other sins. By these and such like sins the accuser of the Brethren got advantage to stand at our right hand (the place of an Accuser in Courts of Justice) and there accuse us and resist us.

2. When the *Egyptians* refused to let *Israel* go to sacrifice and keep a feast to the Lord in the Wilderness: *The Lord cast upon the fierceness of his wrath, by sending Evil Angels among them, Psal.* 78.49. Egypts sins were (1.) Coveteous|ness, they would not let *Israel* go, because they gained by their labours. (2.) Contempt of God and his Instituted Worship, and Ordinances. They did not count them of such concern|ment, that *Israel* should go into the Wilderness Page 171to observe them. Both these sins have too much increased in our Land. (1.) Coveteousness, an inordinate love of the World gave Satan advan|tage upon us. (2.) Contempt of Gods Wor|ship and Instituted Ordinances. The

Errand of our Fathers into this Wilderness, was to Sa|crifice to the Lord; that is, to worship God in purity of heart and life, and to wait upon the Lord, walking in the faith and order of the Gospel in Church fellowship; that they might enjoy Christ in all his Ordinances. But these things have been greatly neglected and despised by many born, or bred up in the Land. We have much forgotten what our Fa|thers came into the Wilderness to see. The sealing Ordinances of the Covenant of Grace in Church-Communion have been much slight|ed and neglected; and the fury of this Storm raised by Satan hath fallen very heavily upon many that lived under these neglects. The Lord sends Evil Angels to awaken and punish our negligence: And to my knowledge some have been hereby excited to enter into the Chamber of Gods Ordinances, to hide them|selves, until the indignation be over past.

3. *David* when he removed the Ark from *Kirjathjearim*, had the Ark put into a new Cart, which should have been carried by the *Koha|thites. Numb.* 3 31. And *David* thought this was right, until the Lord slew *Uzza* for touching the Ark: But then he looked more exactly in|to Page 172to the will of God; and confesseth that the Lord made a breach upon them, because they sought him not after the due order, 1 *Chron.* 13.5, 7, 9, 10. *&* 15.11, 12, 13. Had not the Lord made that breach upon them, they had persist|ed securely in their error. So I may say in this case. In the prosecution of Witchcraft, we sought not the Lord after the due order; but have proceeded after the methods used in for|mer times and other places, until the Lord in this tremendous way made a breach upon us. And hereby we are made sensible that the mel|thods formerly used are not sufficient to prove the guilt of such a crime. And this I conceive was one end of the Lords letting Satan loose to torment and accuse so many; that hereby we may search out the truth more exactly. For had it not been for this dreadful dispensation, many would have lived and dyed in that er|ror, which they are now convinced of.

4. The Lord delivered into the hand of Sa|tan, the Estate, Children, and Body of *Job*, for the tryal of *Jobs* faith and patience, and proof of his perfection and uprightness. So the Lord hath delivered into Satans hand mens Children and Bodies, yea names and estates into Satans hand for the tryal of their faith and patience, and farther manifestation of the sincerity of their professions.

7. From that part of the discourse which shews the power of Satan to torment the bo|dies, Page 173and disturb the minds of those, he is let loose upon, *Chap.* 6. I would infer, that Satan may be suffered so to darken the minds of some pious Souls, as to cause them to destroy them|selves by drowning, hanging, or the like. And when he hath so far prevailed upon some, that formerly lived a Christian life, but were under the prevalency of a distracting Melancholy at their latter end: We may have Charity that their Souls are Saved, notwithstanding the sad conclusion of their lives. I speak not to excuse any that having the free use of their reason willingly destroy themselves, out of pride, dis|content, impatience, *&c. Achitophel* who out of heigth of Spirit because his Counsel was not followed, and to prevent *Davids* executing of him, for his rebellion and treason, destroyed himself, hath left his name to stink unto all ge|nerations. And *Judas* who for

his unparalelled treachery in betraying his Master, and the Lord of life, was justly left to hange himself; and the rope breaking or slipping he fell down head long, or with his face down ward, so that he burst asunder in the midst, and all his bowels gushed out, *Math.* 27.5. *with Act.* 1.18. left by his sin and punishment in the last act of his life the black character of a Son of perdition. But those that being out of their right minds, and hurried by an evil Spirit, as persons under a force to be their own executioners, are not allways to be ranked with these.

Page 174 8. Seeing we have been too fierce against supposed *Malefick* Witchcraft; •et us take heed we do not on the contrary become too •avourable to divining Witchcraft: And become like *Saul* who was too zealous against the *Gibeonites*, and at last turned to seek after one tha• had a familiar Spirit, to his own destruction. Let us not, if we can help it, suffer Satan to set up an ensuring office for stolen Goods. That after he hath brought the curse of God into the house of the thief by tempting him to steal: he may not bring about the curse into the houses of them from whom the goods were stolen; by alluring them to go to the god of *Ekron* to enquire. That men may not give their Souls to the Devil in exchange, for his restoring to them thei• goods again, in such a way of divination. The Lord grant it may be said of *New England*, as is prophecyed of *Judah, Mic.* 5 12. *I will cut off Witchcrafts out of thine hand, and thou shalt have no more soothsayers.*

9. Another extream we must beware of, is, *viz.* Because •u• fathers in the beginning times of this Land, did not see so far into these mysteries of iniquity, as hath been since discovered. Let us not unde•value the good foundations they laid for God and his people, and for us in Church and Civil Government. For *Paul* that eminent Apostle knew but in part; no wonder then, it our Fathers were imperfect men. In the purest times in *Israel*, there were Page 175 some Clouds of ignorance over-shadowing of them. *Abraham, David*, and the best Patriarchs were generally ignorant of the sin of Polygamy. And although *Solomon* far exceeded *Nehemiah* in wisdom; yet *Nehemiah* saw farther into the evil of Marrying Outlandish Women, than that wisest of Kings, and meer fallen men. *Neb.* 13.26. *Josiah* kept the Passeover more exactly, than *David*, and all the Reforming Kings of *Judah*, 2 *Chron.* 35.18.

All the godly Judges and Kings of *Judah* were unacquainted with, and so negligent of the right observation of the feast of Tabernacles, until it came to *Nehemiahs* time: And he understood and revived an ordinance of God, that lay buried in oblivion, near about a thousand years. Now he that shall reject all the good in doctrine and practice, which was maintained, professed and practiced by so many Godly leaders, because of some few errors found among them, will be found to fight against God. A dwarf upon a giants shoulders, can see farther than the giant.

It was a glorious enterprize of the beginners of these Colonies, to leave their native Country to propagate the Gospel: And a very high pitch of faith, zeal, and courage that carryed them forth, to follow the Lord into this wilderness, into a land that was not sown Then was *New England* holiness to the Lord, and all that did devour them, or attempted

so to do, did Page 176offend, and evil did come upon them. *And the Lord did graciously remember this kindness of their Youth, and love of their Espousals*; In grant|ling them many eminent tokens of his favour; by his presence with them in his Ordinance•, for the Conversion of Souls, and edifying and comforting the hearts of his Servants: By sig|nal answering their prayers in times of difficul|ty: By protecting them from their Enemies: By guiding of, and providing for them in a Desart. And the Lord will still remember this their kindness unto their Posterity, unless that by their Apostaly from the Lord, they vex his Holy Spirit, to turn to be their Ene|my: And thereby cut off the Entail of his Covenant Mercies; which God forbid. *Oh that the Lord may be with us, as he was with our Fathers; and that he may not leave us, nor forsake us!*

FINIS.